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"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease."

SIR WM. JONES.

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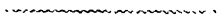
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JOURNAL
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PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1871.

The District of Dera Ismail Khan, Trans-Indus.—By T. W. II.
TOLBORT, Esq., C. S.

• (With a Map.)

In accordance with the plan indicated in a previous contribution to the Journal, I propose to describe the district of Dera Ismail Khán, or rather that portion of it which lies Trans-Indus. This description will give what information appears most important as to natural features, history and ethnology, but will avoid purely official and political matters as unsuited to this Journal.

Natural Features.

On the west, the Sulaimán range forms the boundary of our subject as of British India itself. One of the chief mountains of the range, the prominent *Takht-i-Sulaimán* fronts the centre of the district. Its height is 11,293 ft., and its summit, during the winter months, is covered with snow. The ascent was attempted by two Englishmen of Elphinstone's party in 1809, but the task was found more difficult than it at first appeared, and the adventurers who were pressed for time, could not accomplish it.

On the north, Dera Ismáíl Khán is divided from the Marwat plain by a spur of low hills running east from the Suláimán range towards the Indus. There is one high peak in this low range, and on it is the sanitarium of Shaikhbudín. Entirely separate from the Shaikhbudín hills, though very near them, is an isolated mountain ridge overlooking the river Indus. This is described by Dr. Verchère under the name Rottah Roh, and is also known as the Khissor, or as the Káfir Kōṭ, range.

On the south, where the district adjoins Dera Ghází Khán, there is no marked geographical boundary, but a very important ethnological one, *viz.*, the line of division between Pathán and Baloch frontier tribes.

On the east, we have already assumed the Indus as an arbitrary boundary. The total area thus defined is 3,577 square miles.

The geological features of the plains do not call for much comment. The 'kuchhi,' or belt of land along the bank of the Indus, is a friable and fertile sand, like the alluvial soil of most of our Indian rivers. The rest of the district has a clayey soil, hard, and level in dry weather, but readily cut into ravines by rain and by the mountain torrents. The hard unbroken surface, which extends for miles without a tree is called 'pat.' The geology of the hills is of course more interesting. Some account of it, more particularly of the northern ranges, *i. e.* the Shaikhbudín and Káfir Kōṭ hills, will be found in a series of papers contributed to this Journal by Dr. Verchère. To these, under the title "Geology of the Western Himalaya and Afghán Mountains," our readers interested in the subject may be referred, and chiefly to the third chapter, No. I. of the Journal, 1867. The Rottah Roh or Káfir Kōṭ range is described as mostly composed of carboniferous limestone, resting on a quartzite. The lower hills of the Shaikhbudín range are composed of miocene sandstone, clay and conglomerate, though the Shaikhbudín mountain itself is of limestone. It is believed that the softer rocks which form the rest of the range were once much higher than they are now, reaching almost to the height of the Shaikhbudín peak itself, but they have been gradually washed lower and lower till now the solitary limestone summit remains, with only miserable hillocks, jagged and unclothed, below it. The Káfir Kōṭ range abounds in fossils which have been fully described by Dr. Verchère.

Passing from the geology to the botany of the district, I annex a list of the common and characteristic plants. These have been identified partly by the aid of Dr. Stewart's 'Panjab Plants,' but chiefly by a friend in England, Mr. Daniel Hanbury, F. R. S. The botanical names are in most instances followed by the vernacular.

Ranunculaceæ.

Clematis graveolens, Hook., zámirí. *Shaikhbudín.*

Cruciferae.

Moricandia tortuosa, Hook. f. et Th.

Capparideæ.

- 15.* ——— *Capparis aphylla*, L., karíl.

Violariæ.

Viola cinerea, Boiss., makhan bhúta.

Moringaceæ.

Moringa pterygosperma, soanjna.

Tiliaceæ.

27. ——— *Grewia betulæ folia*, Juss. ínzar. gangí. *S'aikhhudín.*

——— *oppositi folia*, Buch., daman pastona.

Sapinduceæ.

31. ——— *Dodonæa Burmanniana*, D'C., shamshád. *Shaikhbudín.*

Meliaceæ.

33. ——— *Melia azadárachta*, L., drek or bakáin.

Zygophylleæ.

Fagonia cretica, L. ispalgzai (dhama or spalaghzai).

37. ——— *Tribulus (alatus, Del. ?)*, bhakra or gokhrú.

Rutaceæ.

38. ——— *Peganum Harmala*, L. harmal.

Celastrineæ.

Celastrus spinosus, Don.

Rhamneæ.

- 43 or 44. ——— *Zizyphus Lotus*, Lam. ber.

Zizyphus jujuba ber, a good-sized tree.

Leguminosæ.

50. ——— *Acacia arabica*, Willd., kikaṛ.

57. ——— *Alhagi Maurorum*, D'C., jhawán or jawán, yields the

* The numbers refer to pages in Stewart's 'Panjab Plants.'

Turanjbín manna.

- Bauhinia variegata, kachnár.
 Cæsalpinia Bonduc, L., karmjúá.
 61. ——— Cassia (Absus, L. ?), cháksú.
 Lespedeza cuneata, Don., marerí. *Shaikhbudin*.
 73. ——— Parkinsonia aculeata, D'C., Wiláyatí bahúl.
 74. ——— Prosopis spicigera, L., jand or jhand.
 75. ——— Sesbania (ægyptiaca Pers. ?), jhanjhan.
 Sophora Griffithii, Stocks., zergul. *Shaikhbudin*.

Tamariscinæ.

91. ——— Tamarix dioica, Roxb. lahí or jhau.
 92. ——— ——— orientalis, L., khagal or farásh.

Cucurbitacæ.

Cucumis colocynthis, L. kurtamma, colocynth.
 Momordica charantia, karela, cultivated as a vegetable.

Portulacæ.

Luffa acutangula, káli tori, do.
 Trianthema, sp., wasá.
 Portulaca oleracea, línak.

Mesembryacæ.

Orygia and rianthemoides, makhan bhúta. *Shaikhbudin*.
 (same name as for *Viola cinerea*.)

• *Rubiacæ.*

Gardenia tetrasperma, Roxb., chunjawali. *Shaikhbudin*.

Dipsacæ.

Scabiosa Olivieri, Coult., sher singh. *Shaikhbudin*.

Compositæ.

- Artemisia elegans, Roxb., dúranga. *Shaikhbudin*.
 120. ——— vestita, Wall., tarkhá (Pers.), do.
 Carthamus oxyacantha, Biob., kashbíri, do.
 Conyza absinthi folia, D'C., jármé or chota zergul.
 126 ? Echirops echinatus, Roxb., joz or karor, do.
 Eclipta erecta, L., bhangra.
 Filagó germanica, L., ispígal or isapgal. *Shaikhbudin*.
 Halocharis sp., kharíri.
 Microrhyncus nudicaulis, Less., bahtalmáchála ?
 Platychaete, sp. nov. (?)
 Vernonia spathulata, Rochst.

Bignoniaceæ.

149. *Tecoma undulata*, G. Don. reodán or rori, gorguous orange, blossoms. *Shaikhubudín.*

Convolvulaceæ.

150. *Convolvulus arvensis*, waneveri or harankuri.

Boraginæ.

Cordia Myxa, L. lasura.

Heliotropium europæum, L., mamána, popat búti.

Solanaceæ.

161. *Solanum Jacquiri*, Willd. *S. xanthocarpum*, Schrad., kandiári.
160. ——— *nigrum*, L. Maku, a common weed in English gardens.
161. *Withania coagulans*, Dunal, panir.
- *somnifera*, Dunal, iskand (?). *Shaikhubudín.*

Scrophulariaceæ.

Leptorhabdos parviflora. ? hill quinine, do.

Orobanchaceæ.

Phelipæa calotropidis, Walp., bhúmphor.

Acanthaceæ.

Dicliptera Roxburghii N. ab. E., zermásti, do.

Verbenaceæ.

Lantana alba, Miller, aspangul, *Shaikhubudín*, bears a pretty flower.

Lippia nodiflora, Rich, boka.

166. — *Vitex Negundo*, L., samálu or marwande.

Labiataæ.

Ballota limbata, Benth., kanspiri, a singular spiny herb or small shrub.

Lallemantia Royleana, Benth., tukhm bilang, *Shaikhubudín.* (? *Nepeta juncea*, Benth.), mareri or Hill podina, do.

170. ——— *ruderalis*, Ham., mastíára.

Phlomis purpurea, L., or a species near to it, ispira, *Shaikhubudín*, bears very showy flowers.

Plectranthus rigosus, Benth., togal, diwána sármán.

Salvia Moorcroftiana, Wall., papar, *Shaikhubudín.*

Salvadoraceæ.

- 175.
- Salvadora oleoides*
- Deso., jāl or pilú.

Salsolaceæ.

- 177.
- Caroxylon foetidum*
- , Moq., gora lání.

Caroxylon Griffithii, khár lání.*Chenopodium album*, L., sármán or drag., *Shaikhhudín*.

- 179.
- Panderia pilosa*
- , F. et M. búí (also below.)

- 180.
- Suaeda fruticosa*
- , Moq. lání phesak lání.

Amarantaceæ.

180. ———
- Aerua javanica*
- , Juss., búí.

*Nyctaginaceæ.**Boerhavia diffusa*, L., kaurá khaira. *Shaikhhudín*.*Polygonaceæ.**Calligonum polygonoides*, L., máchala.*Euphorbiaceæ.*

- 193.
- Crotophora tinctoria*
- , L., nil. buta.

- 195.
- Euphorbia hypericifolia*
- , L., dodak.

159. ———
- thymifolia*
- , Bur., dodak.

*Liliaceæ.**Asparagus*, sp., kareti.*Gramineæ.*

- 261.
- Saccharum spontaneum*
- , L., kána khán.

Dactyloctenium ægyptiacum, madána grass.*Panicum colonum*, L., sánwak, cultivated as fodder.*Undetermined.**kargun*, or *kharguna*.

The great feature in the vegetation of the plains is the enormous number of salsolaceæ. They cover the face of the country, and are the more obvious from the absence of all trees, even the most stunted. The vernacular name is 'lání,' and there are three kinds—'gora lání,' 'khár lání,' and 'phesak lání.' All three serve as fodder for camels, but only 'khár lání' is used for making the 'sajji' or barilla of Indian commerce. The plants are collected in November, a pit is dug, and in it the dried plants are set on fire. The carbonate of soda and other saline matter dissolving and again solidifying with the ash, forms a stone-like mass, which is the 'sajji' of commerce. Next in abundance to these, is the 'búi'

'Panderia pilosa,' and then a small thorny herb called 'jawása,' 'isháhan,' or camel thorn, from which in default of 'kaskas,' our tanneries are made. This also, as its name implies, is a favourite with camels.

While these are the plants on which the eye rests when one rides across the plains, others, very different in character will be noticed in a morning walk at Shaikhbudín. There, among trees, are the 'phalahi,' one of the prettiest of acacias, the 'kau' or wild olive, some six feet in height with dark foliage and a hard close-grained wood, the 'pastuwanna' or *Grewia oppositifolia*, and more showy than all the rest the 'reodan' or 'rori,' which is covered in the month of June with gorgeous orange blossoms. Interspersed with these, and more characteristic of the scenery than any of them, is the dwarf palm or 'mzarai,' *chamærops Ritchiana*, carelessly described by some travellers as an aloe. This, like the date palm, is of value for the manufacture of matting. Passing from these, all of which except the dwarf palm attain the stature of trees, our imaginary visitor at Shaikhbudín will notice the 'shamshád,' or so-called bog myrtle, which makes such a capital hedge row to our Indian gardens; the 'panír' or *withania coagulans*, a shrub with light coloured leathery leaves, and two other not such well known shrubs, the 'karguna' and the 'chun-jawali.'

The irrigation of the district is peculiar, and if this were an official paper, would bear a minute and detailed description. The country is intersected by mountain torrents, and the water which these bring down in their flushes, is arrested and spread over the country by large embankments or 'bands' of earth, built across the beds of the torrents. Chief among these intermittent rivers is the Lúní. It is turned northwards out of its natural course by one set of 'bands,' and then stopped and spread over the country by another series which are broken, one after the other, to be reconstructed when the flushes are over. The sub-division of the water to individual fields is effected in much the same way, indeed a field is called a 'band,' the word 'khet' being almost unknown.

These dams or weirs are prepared by the joint and compulsory labour of the villages benefiting by them, each village contributing

its quota of yokes of oxen. The implement employed is a kind of harrow drawn by two oxen, and with this the earth is scraped up and thrown together. The whole organisation of society is modified by this system of irrigation; the respective rights of the 'sarobá,' or man higher up the stream, and the 'páin,' or man lower down, are among the most important provisions of the *lex loci*; and the innumerable difficulties which necessarily arise were the cause of endless wars in native rule, and are the source of endless disputes now.

The crops of the district are chiefly wheat, indian corn, bájrá, and jowár. Cotton is grown to some extent; but the nature of the soil, and its irrigation are not suited to gram, sugar-cane, or indigo, nor,—except in some isolated localities,—to rice. Dates, mangoes, oranges, and pomegranates are grown, but the fruit of the country *par excellence* is the musk melon, which attains perfection in the plains skirting the Sulaimán range.

Before quitting this part of my subject, I give the local table of measures which are more popular than weights by maund and ser. Division of crops by *batáif* is universal.

Measures of quantity.

4	páns	make	•	ono	'	paropí.
4	paropís	„	„	„		topa.
4	topás	„	„	„		pai.
4	pais	„	„	„		chot.
16	chots	„	„	„		path.

The ordinary weight of a 'path' of wheat would be about 25 Government maunds, but the measure is variable. The local maund and ser are heavier than the Government standard, and Kuláchí weights of the same denomination are heavier than those of Dera.

History, &c.

There are ruins all along the frontier, to which the common term Káfir Kot, or 'infidel fort,' is applied. Generally, they are mere mounds, more or less extensive, from which coins and images may be dug. One of the largest of them is at Akrá in the Bannú district. There are two or three similar mounds in the neighbourhood of Táuk, a town in the extreme north-west of the Dera jurisdiction.

Other similar ruins are seen close to the Indus. A year or two ago excavations were made at Rokrí near Miánwáli on the eastern side of the Indus, and several small figures of baked clay were found, the figures modelled with the black skin kuláh still worn at Harát. Although the term Káfir Koṭ is applied indiscriminately to all of these, it is very probable that the ruins so called, are of different dates, and different styles of architecture. Some may have been Bactrian and some Buddhist, while others probably are of much later date, and even subsequent to the Muhammadan conquest. In this district, besides the mounds near Támk, there are two Káfir Koṭs on the Rotta Roh, the low range which overlooks the Indus. These are not mere mounds of brick, but standing ruins of stone. The southern one of the two, near the small town of Bahlot, stands on a hill of loose boulder stones, some two or three hundred feet above the river. It is evident that the whole area of the ruins was originally surrounded by an irregular, but rectangular wall, built from the common boulder stones of the hill, roughly hewn to size. This wall had projecting bastions every 15 or 20 yards. Within the enclosure so formed are three ruins or groups of ruins built, not of these same hard stones, but of a much softer earth coloured stone, which is now honey-combed in a very curious manner. At first I took the material to be brick or cement, but this was evidently wrong. I then thought that the buildings were of a different date from the surrounding wall; but this supposition is also incorrect, for most of these ruined buildings stand on a foundation, and are approached by steps constructed of the ordinary stone of the neighbourhood. Whence this peculiar plastic stone was brought, I cannot say. It is certainly very different from any in the immediate vicinity. The first building at the Káfir Koṭ that a visitor is likely to enter, is about the size of an ordinary Hindú temple. At the base it is square, but above it rises to a dome. Just where the dome commences a small gallery, about a foot in width, runs round the interior, open and closed at alternate intervals. About a hundred yards distant are two smaller buildings not unlike ordinary *shivális*. The carving on these is somewhat different.

Each of them has, on the south side, a little vault somewhat below the level of the ground. The buildings appear to have had originally three stages. About another hundred yards off, is a third group, forming a sort of triangle with the ruins already enumerated. The visitor passes on his right three shrines or cells, and then mounts eight steps, constructed of the ordinary hill stone, to a platform, at each front corner of which is a small temple, while the centre supports a building of greater size. All these face the east as is the case with modern Hindú temples.

The ruins of the northern Káfir Kōṭ, some twenty miles higher up the Indus, bear a general resemblance to those already described, and are on a larger scale, though not so well preserved. There is a similar bastioned wall of stupendous dimensions, in places sixty or seventy feet high, of enormous thickness, and built of very large stones. The ruins within the area are of the same honey-combed stone as those of the lower Káfir Kōṭ. The largest of them is a long rectangular hall, with windows along the upper half of the wall. It was apparently double-storied, but the roof has of course disappeared long ago. There are other buildings, bearing a nearer resemblance to those previously described. The carving varies in detail, but is everywhere perfectly chaste, and free from all figures of men or animals.

Leaving the subject of antiquities, I proceed to give such scant history as can be obtained touching the town of Dera Ismáíl Khán, and then condense—for here our information perplexes by its quantity—an account of the different tribes in the neighbourhood.

Although I have stated that the southern boundary of our district corresponds with the partition line between Pathán and Baloch frontier tribes, yet within the district itself, where the population is not pure but intermixed, Baloches come much further north, and there is evidence that in former days they occupied tracts of country where Patháns have now encroached. For instance the Baloch Kasránis formerly owned the country now belonging to the Pathán Ustaránis; and Kuláchi, now the capital of a powerful Afghán tribe, derives its name from a Baloch sub-division. The town of Derá Ismáíl Khán itself was founded by a Baloch tribe called Hot. In the year 876 A. H., Malik Suhráb Hot, came to this

neighbourhood from Kach Makrán, entered the service of Sultán Husain, who was then Governor of Multán, and received from him land on both sides the Indus, nearly corresponding with the present district of Dera Ismail Khán. At first his head quarters were at Babbar, twelve or fourteen miles south of the modern station, but Malik Suhráb's two sons Ismail Khán and Fath Khán founded the towns which have since borne their names. The success of Malik Suhráb appears to have encouraged other adventurers from Kach Makrán; and one of these, Hájí Khán, with his son Ghází Khán, founded the town since called by the name of the latter. Such are the main features of the tradition, though there are several slightly discrepant versions of it, the discrepancies bearing chiefly on the exact relationship and tribe of the three founders. Firishtah mentions Ismáíl Khán, but describes his caste as Dodái. These adventurers were contemporaries of Humáyún and Sher Sháh, and are referred to in Erskine's history, page 424, and elsewhere, as acknowledging the authority of Humáyún's rival. The descendants of Ismail and Ghází Khán retained possession of their respective towns down to the time of the Durrání empire. A strange custom existed in both families of alternating between two names or titles from generation to generation. Thus Ismáíl Khán's son was called Bráham Khán. His successor was another Ismail Khán, and he was followed by a second Bráham Khán, and so on. In the same way the line of succession at Dera Ghází alternated between Ghází Kháns and Hájí Kháns* down to a recent date. But each individual had an independent name besides, as the following genealogical tree of Ismail Khán's family proves.

Sultán Ahmad Khán, called Malik Suhráb.

```

      |
Ismail Khán.
      |
Muhammad Khán.
      |
Fath Khán.
      |
Nek Bráham Khán.
      |
Khán Murád Khán.

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Mas'úds, who live entirely in the hills, commanding two of the principal mountain passes into Khurásán, the Tánk Jám and the Gumal. In appearance they are inferior to many other Pathán tribes; but they are remarkably hardy, and though barbarously cruel in their predatory wars, are generally truthful, and in captivity are remarkably well behaved. They are the great enemies of the Pawindahs, or travelling merchants, whose caravans are compelled to fight their way through, when entering and when leaving India. The Mas'úds are themselves sub-divided into two great branches, the 'Alizais, and the Buldolzaís, each of these splitting into innumerable families, some comparatively peaceful and well disposed, others notorious brigands. Among the latter, the Shingís, one of the Buhlolzaí sections, are the most lawless, and their depredations are at present the chief political difficulty at this point of the frontier. The Mas'úd country is rich in timber and iron. It produces a fine breed of horses, and has orchards of apple trees, evidently possessing in many parts a soil of some fertility, though the cultivation is poor and scant. The chief town, Kánígoram was captured by us in the Mas'úd expedition of 1860. It is situated on elevated ground not far from the Pír Ghul, (11,533 feet), the great mountain of the Wazírí range. Although it is the capital of the Wazírí country, its own population consists chiefly of 'Ulamá or Sayyids. The reverence of Patháns for saints and faqírs is well known. The exaggerated extent to which this reverence is carried by Wazírís, has given rise to the humorous story that they murder holy men, in order to erect shrines to their memory. A Panjáb official, Muhammad Hayát Khán, has written a history of the Afgháns in Urdú, under the title 'Hayát Afghání.' This work, page 350 *et seq.*, contains a detailed account of the Wazírís and other tribes on this portion of the frontier. It gives the traditional genealogy and the numerous sub-divisions of each tribe, and in the case of the Wazírís details the different localities of each section. The Wazírís, like other Patháns, observe certain tribal laws, many of which are explained by the author just named. The *lex talionis* modified by a scale of money compensations, the 'avenging of blood,' and the system of government by 'márkas' and 'jirgahs' are institutions common to all the Afghán tribes.

The frontier outrages which have given the Mas'úds their bad name, are organised by a few professional brigands who distinguish themselves by the name 'payáwars' or 'diláwars.' Small parties of ten or twenty men under these leaders lurk at the mouths of the mountain passes till the sun is down, and the night moonless. Their onslaught on a village, 'halla' as it is termed, is generally made before midnight, and frequently begins with a discharge of stones which they hurl with great force and precision. They slash and stab indiscriminately—but as a rule spare the women—and carrying off the village cattle, regain their mountain fastnesses before daylight.

The Shíránís occupy the Takht i Sulaimán itself. Under a leader named Katál Khán, they gave much trouble in the early years of our administration ; but since the expedition which was sent against them in 1853, they have been peaceably disposed.

Passing from these tribes, which are beyond our jurisdiction to those which are wholly or partially British subjects, we come first to the Battannís, who are allied to us, and are conveniently interposed between ourselves and the Wazírís. They formerly lived on the other side of the Takht i Sulaimán, but were driven thence by the Ghiljís in the reign of Sikandar Lodí. They are of three subdivisions, Tatta, Danná and Wraspún. Then we may mention the Miánís, a nomadic and mongrel race of Pawindah squatters. They are found chiefly in the Tánk sub-division near the mouths of the passes. Tánk is a small 'aláqa in the north-east corner of the district, which is under the management of a nawáb, though entirely subordinate to British authority. It is now fresh in our memories as the scene of the accident which proved fatal to Sir Henry Durand. The ruling tribe is the Daulat Khel. This tribe together with some of its neighbours, dates its occupation from the reigns of Bábar and Humáyún. It seems probable that adherents of the Lodí dynasty were ousted from their lands by followers of the conquering Mughuls, and this perhaps accounts for some of the convulsions which have transplanted several tribes in the Dámán. The leader of the Daulat Khel, Sháh Báz or Khán Zomán by name, formed a league with the Gandapúr tribe, and succeeded in driving out the Marwatís and other rivals from Tánk.

The present Nawáb belongs to a family known as the Khattí Khel, who first came into notice about seventy years ago, when one Kattál Khán attempted to establish his authority over the tribe, but lost his life in the attempt. Kattál Khán left a son Sarwar Khán, who a few years later avenged his father's death, and obtained supreme power over the tribe. Sarwar Khán was a chieftain of unusual ability, and his name is still a household word in Tánk. He rebuilt and fortified Tánk, raised the large fort of Dabbra beyond it, extended irrigation, and by attracting cultivators converted his territory into a fertile and verdant garden. He died in 1892, Vik., and was succeeded by his son Allahdád Khán, a man of much inferior character, who finding himself unable to pay the revenue demanded by the Sikhs, fled to the Mas'úd hills. For some years after this, Tánk was the scene of struggles between the exiled Allahdád Khán, and three Pathán chieftains, to whom the Sikhs had leased the government, and again between these and Fath Khán Tiwánah. Eventually both Fath Khán Tiwánah and Sháh Nawáz Khán, son and heir of Allahdád Khán, were driven into exile, from which they did not return till the British occupied the country. Then, through the influence of the late Sir Herbert Edwardes, Sháh Nawáz Khán was restored to the government of Tánk, which he still holds. As he is connected with the Mas'úds both by birth and marriage, his political importance is considerable. There are many very romantic incidents in the history of this Khattí Khel family, but our space does not admit of their repetition. There is another very small tribe in the Tánk 'aláqa, that of the Tátúrs.

South of Tánk, lies the territory of a larger Pathán tribe, the Gandapúrs. Their origin as claimed by themselves, is more pre-tentious than that attributed to them by their rivals. Not content with their dignity as Afgháns, they must needs claim to be Sayyids, and profess a descent from Mír Sayyid Muhammad Gesú-Daráz. The story of this saint and his three wives is given in Bellew's *Afghanistan*, page 64. By his Kákar wife, he had a son named Satúrí, who in his turn was the father of Tarai. Tarai eloped with a Shírání maiden, and in consequence of this adventure had to leave his father's home. As he was leaving, his father gave him the name Gandapúr. The etymology thus invented for the name of the

tribe, is unfortunately ambiguous as well as fanciful, and is interpreted by some as a blessing, by others as a curse. As the *d* in Gandapúr is cerebral, the name does not seem to be connected with the Persian word 'ganda,' in which the *d* is dental. Gandapúr had four sons and one daughter, Ya'qúb, 'Imrán, Husain, Bráhim and Bībí Khúbí. These have given their names to five of the Gandapúr sub-divisions,—'nálahs' as they are called. The sixth nálah known as the Dreplára, a Pushtú word, meaning 'offspring of three fathers,' has been formed by the union of three miscellaneous tribes not originally Gandapúrs, viz., the Shakhai, Marera, and Umara. The Gandapúrs were driven out of Khurásán by a league of the Lahúns and Kákars, but their first permanent settlement in the plains seems to have been on the occasion above referred to, when there was a general crusade against Lodi and Súrí Patháns. Their first station was at Rohrí, (Roree) probably as dependents or allies of the Daulat Khel. For years after this, the Gandapúrs retained their commercial and nomadic character, being in fact Pawindahs, as some of them are still; but gradually they extended their cultivation on the banks of two mountain torrents, the Lúni and the Takwárah, till they lost their migratory habits. When Ahmad Khán Durrání invaded India, Hájí Attal Khán, nephew of the 'Chilwashtí,' or leader, of the Gandapúr tribe, accompanied him with a troop of followers, and these Gandapúrs distinguished themselves by their valour at the great battle of Pánípat, A. D. 1760. The Gandapúrs are in some respects a very fine race. They are men of powerful physique, and of great bravery, but are quarrelsome and litigious beyond all bounds. For some years the tribe has been divided into two great factions, headed by two cousins, Guldád Khán and Kálú Khán. The tendency to rivalry and enmity between cousins is almost proverbial among Patháns. The land tenure of the Gandapúrs is so peculiar, that it deserves passing mention even here, while its intricacies would afford material for a voluminous revenue report. Each of the six nálahs, or divisions of the tribe, holds 6000 imaginary shares called 'daddís,' making a total of 36,000 'daddís' for the whole land of the tribe. In each village there is land held by each of the nálahs, either by each one separately, or by two or more nálahs jointly, or by the whole

tribe in common ; and in each village, the fields so held are often scattered and distant from one another. The original theory of this tenure was, that there should be a periodical *swap*, a redistribution of the land among the six nálahs every sixth year, so that each might be fairly treated, and every individual feel it his interest to defend the whole tribal land. A similar custom exists in some other Afghán tribes, and is probably practicable while the tribe retains its migratory habits, though not afterwards. The theory is no longer acted upon by the Gandapúrs. At present, if we would attach a *positive* meaning to the word 'daddí,' we must do so by taking as our integer neither the whole land of the tribe nor the whole land of the nálah, but the land of each family or 'Khel' in the nálah. By marking off the lands of each Khel, a feasible though difficult task, and by ascertaining the number of members in the Khel with the number of daddís held by each member, the word daddí ceases to be a mere metaphysical expression. This, however, is not the only difficulty in Gandapúr tenure. Although the daddís represent ownership in commonalty not in severalty, each plot of land may and must have some one authorized to dispose of it. He is called the 'latband' or 'adná málik,' and differs from an hereditary tenant inasmuch as he has authority to sell. Add to these difficulties a universal system of mortgage ; add also the complications caused by the peculiar mode of irrigation, and we have in the Gandapúr villages a tenure unequalled for confusion and complexity. Partly in consequence of this complexity, and partly from the perpetual quarrels of the tribe, it has been found necessary to hold the 'aláqa khám tahsíl,' Government taking three-tenths and the daddídárs one-tenth of the produce, while the remainder goes to the latband and his cultivators.

Further to the south, beyond the Gandapúr territory is Dráband, the country of the Míán Khels and Bakhtíarís. The great body of the Míán Khels are still wandering merchants, who visit India in the cold weather and return to Khurásán in the summer, but a portion of the tribe has settled down to agriculture. The chieftain of the Míán Khels, best known in the history of the district, was named 'Umar Khán. He fought with the Saddozái rulers of Dera, until he was captured and beheaded by an act of shameless treachery.

The Mián Khel, like their neighbours, the Gandapúrs, delight in complications of tenure. The primary division of their land is into 'tandobí,' or irrigated, and 'vichobí,' or unirrigated, in both of which, property is represented by fractions variously and fancifully expressed.

The Bakhtiáris though spoken of as a distinct tribe, have now been absorbed by the Mián Khels, who have fifteen or sixteen subdivisions of their own, each possessing a greater distinctive importance than the Bakhtiáris. Among these the Músázaís, the Sayyid Khel, the Shádí Khel, and the Sháhí Khel, are the most powerful.

The Mián Khels once had a great feud with the Gandapúrs, and besieged them at Rohrí. The quarrel was only appeased by a singular treaty to the effect that the Gandapúrs should emigrate for one year, and that in the interim the Mián Khels should satisfy their desire for vengeance by burning Rohrí to the ground. This was done, and at the end of the year the Gandapúrs returned, and reoccupied the country. Probably this story is from a Mián Khel authority, as it is ignored by the Gandapúrs.

Next to the Mián Khels come the Bábars, a gentlemanly and well-to-do tribe. There is but a small colony of them in British territory, but they are numerous in Khurásán itself, in the neighbourhood of Qandahár. Their settlement in the Dámán was subsequent to that of the tribes previously named. In our territory, Chaudwán is their chief town. Edwardes borrows a good story from popular tradition to illustrate the acuteness of the Bábars. Once on a time they entered into an agricultural partnership with the devil, and gave him his choice of the roots or stalks of the harvest. The devil chose the stalks, upon which the Bábars sowed nothing but onions, carrots, and turnips. The devil, very naturally annoyed, insisted next harvest on getting the roots, so the Bábars grew wheat and sugar.*

Beyond the Bábars are the Ustaránís. They live partly within and partly beyond the border, their chief town Kúí being in inde-

* This story is also commonly related in Saxony and Silesia. The peasants made the same contract with Rûbezah, the spirit of the Sudetic Range. In fact, he got his name from the contract; for Rûbezah means 'turnip-counter.' He came to count his turnips, and found that the peasants had sown rye.
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pendent territory. Their settlement in the Dámán only dates from a hundred years back. They have always borne a good character as brave and honest men, but have generally been at feud with some of the Baloch tribes to the south. At the time of annexation, they were at feud with the Kasránis. At present they are in league with the Kasránis against the Bozdárs.

Southernmost of all the Pathán tribes, come the Khatráns, of whom a colony live at the town of Vahowah in the extreme south-west corner of the Dera Ismail Khán district. All the tribes of the Dera Ghází frontier are Baloch, and there is one Baloch tribe intermixed with the Khatráns whose chieftain resides in the Dera Ismail district. This is the Kasráni tribe, and the chieftain is a son of Kaura Khán, who distinguished himself three years ago by carrying off the Deputy Commissioner.

One more Pathán tribe remains to be noticed, the Khissors—who occupy the belt of land lying between the Káfir Kot or Khissor range, and the Indus. Besides these, there are numerous families of influential Afgháns resident at Dera itself.

Taking the agricultural population remote from the frontier tribes, we find it composed chiefly of Baloches and Jats. Among the former are the sub-divisions Kurái, Hot, Laghúri, Gishkorí, Kuláchi, Rind, Girsar, and Chándia, in the neighbourhood of the Saddar, while Nutkánis, Laskánis, Gurmánis, and Mallánas, are predominant in the south. Among Jats are the sub-divisions Sáhí, Wáíl, Saggí, Khar, Mapál, Husám, Kánjan Kalerá, and many others. There is a curious ambiguity in the local use of the word 'Jat.' Sometimes it is applied to an agricultural caste, and thence extended to zamíndárs generally, as is the case all over the Panjáb. Sometimes also it means a camel driver as distinguished from a zamíndár. But the name certainly indicates a tribal distinction here as elsewhere, though the Jats of this neighbourhood are a confused race, in every respect inferior not only to the noble Sikh population of the north-east Panjáb, but also to the Muhammadan Jats of the central Duábs. Jats are very numerous in Afghánistán, and the supposition that they entered India from the southern passes of the Sulaimán range is much more probable than the theory which introduces them from the countries beyond Kashmír.

The mercantile Hindú population consists of Khattrís and Roras, the latter far outnumbering the former.* The chief divisions of Khattrís are Kapúr, Khanah, Chopri, Manotri Bahal, Wuhorí, Tandan, and Gándhí. Roras resemble Khattrís in many respects, but are considered a much lower caste. They are divided primarily into the Uttarádí and Dakkhaní got's; but these terms, though meaning northern and southern, do not denote a corresponding geographical distribution. The chief Uttarádí sub-divisions are named Khánijo, Sachdeo, Cháwala Khorána, Mandán, and Chhokra. The chief Dakkhaní sub-divisions are Nandwání, Munjhál, Kálri, Piplání, Dang, and Nángpál. In this part of the Panjáb all Hindús engaged in trade are known to the Muhammadan population by the indiscriminate term 'Karár.'

We have now enumerated all the important tribes permanently resident in the district. Of the Pawindahs, or wandering merchants, who make this neighbourhood their head quarters in their annual visit to India, the three chief divisions are the Mían Khels already referred to, the Náçirs, and the Kharotís. Their *káfilas* arrive in September, and their encampments, called 'kirrís,' where the women and breeding camels are left, while the able-bodied men scatter themselves over India, remain till April. Then there is a general rendezvous; and the *káfilas* are reformed, each comprising several hundred men, women, and children, with long strings of camels followed by their young, and laden with the merchandise of India. The men resume the arms which they laid aside on entering British territory, and the columns, miles in length, set out on their hazardous march to Khurásán.

Extracts from my Diary regarding a visit to Kharakpúr, in the District of Munger (Monghyr), and several places in the Banka Sub-Division, (Bhágulpúr).—By BABU RASHBIHARI BOSE, Sub-Divisional Officer, Banka, Bhagulpore.

I. *A visit to Kharakpúr.*

Friday, the 17th Dec., 1869.—On my way paid a visit to the celebrated Masjid of Lakkhumpúr, which is held in great veneration by both the Hindús and Muhammadans of the surrounding villages. It is called Chandan Sháh Auliá after the name of the founder. This Muhammadan Pír, or saint, is said to have performed many miracles. One day after rubbing his teeth with a twig of the Mukh-Chandan tree, he stuck the twig into the earth, and commanded a tree to spring up from it, when the twig shot forth branches, and grew into a tree.* The tree, which is believed to be immortal, is still shown to the spectators, and is inclosed within the walls which contain the mortal remains of the saint. The maulawí in charge of the masjid pointed out to me the original extinct trunk, from which the present tree has sprung,—the tree thus possessing the virtue of renewing itself.

It is the miracle of the tree which appears to have given name to the saint, his real name being Háji Harban.

The saint is said to have predicted the conversion of the then Hindú Rája of Kharakpúr,† and to have contributed in some degree to his future greatness. It is said that the Rája, then a fugitive from his guddee, dreamed one night that he had taken beef. Being shocked at this idea, so repugnant to the feelings of a Hindú, he repaired to all the pandits in the neighbourhood. They one and all, of course, enjoined some religious observances by way of penance, which he was not then in a position to perform. At last he came to the Háji, and told him what weighed so heavily on his conscience. The Háji assured

* I heard this identical legend related at Kabír-Bar, on the banks of the Nerbudda, regarding the famous tree of that name.

† Regarding the history of the Kharakpúr Rájás during the Mughul Period, vide Mr. Blochmann's remarks in Proceedings, As. Soc. Bengal, for 1870, pp. 305 to 307, and my letter published in the Proceedings for May, 1871.

him that in a few years he would be converted to Islám, and become a great Rája. He continued, however, to wage a hopeless contest, and was at last betrayed by his Díwán into the hands of his enemies, who carried him a prisoner to Delhi. While every moment expecting to meet an ignominious death, the daughter of the emperor happened to cast her eyes upon him, and expressed to her father a desire to be married to him. The emperor consented, the Rája proffered his life to his religion, the marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and the Rája was restored to his guddee. The emperor granted his daughter as dowry the pergunah Havelí (meaning house) for her residence, the parganah Kajlá for 'kajul' (a preparation worn by women on their eyes), the parganah Lahata for 'lahti' (lac bangles), and the parganah Singol for 'sindúr' (worn on the forehead).

The Rája who was thus restored to the ráj with the emperor's daughter as his spouse, was named Toral Mal,* son of Sangráam Sháh, the founder of Kharakpúr.

Sunday, the 19th December, 1869.—On the way, I saw in an uninhabited plain, near Jalálábád, a large image cut in stone, which is held in great veneration by the Hindús. It has no resemblance with any of the Hindú deities, and is called Bun-Bhokranáth, —a name which none of them bears. The group of figures cut in stone seemed evidently to be Buddhistic; but the idolatrous and religious Hindú, who seeks his god among stocks and stones, has converted the principal image into an object of worship, simply because he could not explain how and whence it came there. Nearly all the images have their noses cut off, a piece of service for which they are no doubt indebted to the fanatical and idol-hating Muhammadans. As the Muhammadans do not appear to have disfigured images except such as were held in great veneration by their Hindú or Buddhist brothers, the image in question must at one time have formed part of a great temple.

The officiating priest who was as ignorant as any man regarding the history and origin of the image, showed us a figure in the group half-hidden under the earth, which he said had appeared of late, but did not exist before,—a statement which his neighbours

* Toral Mal, after his conversion, appears to have been called Rozafzún.

were glad to corroborate. He further informed us that the principal image perspired profusely during the hot weather. But what attracted us most, was the image of a Hindú goddess cut in a separate piece of stone which contained an inscription; but the letters were so illegible, that we were not able to make out whether they were Nágari or Bangálí characters—much less to ascertain the purport of the whole.*

I reached Kharakpúr at about 3-30 P. M., and visited the three-domed masjid so beautifully situated on the river Mán. The marble slab on it shows that it was built in A. II. 1067, during the reign of the emperor Sháh Jahán.

A few yards from the mosque, is the old palace of Rája Beroj [Bihruz] in ruins, where all his successors, however, continued to be invested with the insignia of royalty, as the spot was considered auspicious owing to an occurrence similar to the one that led to the foundation of Rome. It is said that Sangram Sháh, grandfather of Beroj, having conquered 52 Khetaurí Rájas who hold sway in different parts of the country, came to the bank of the river Mán, in order to select a site for his capital. Suddenly a haro was seen to start from the neighbouring thicket. It was pursued by a dog, but the haro turned upon its pursuer, and killed the hound. The spot where this took place, was chosen by the warrior chief as site for his capital, and in commemoration of the wonderful occurrence, was called Khorágpúr (now written Kharakpúr), from *khargosh*, a haro. It is necessary to state that some deduce the name of the town from Kharga Singh, who is said to have completed the subjection of the country conquered by his brother Sangram Sháh.

The authenticity of the above legend is, however, universally admitted.

Monday, the 20th December, 1869.—Left Kharakpúr at 3 A. M. for Páñchkumár, and at dawn reached Músakhól, or mouse's hole. This is a small room about four feet by three, hewn into the solid rock, like the caves of Khondgiri near Bhubanesur in the district of Púrí, probably by Buddhist ascetics, whose

* The inscription, rubbings from which were subsequently sent to the Society, has been deciphered by Babu Rájendra Lála Mitra. It contains the well known Buddhist creed 'ye dharma hetu, &c.' The character is the Kutila of the 10th century.

custom it was to retire to such places for contemplation and prayer. The people of the surrounding country believe that the hole used formerly to discharge household utensils of brass and bell-metal on the application of travellers who passed along the road by the side of which it is situated. The traveller had to call at the foot of the hole, and ask for any utensil which he had need of for the day, and instantly the article came gliding down to his hand. After his need was satisfied, he had to place the utensil in the hole, and go away. But a covetous Brahman having broken this rule, and carried away to his house a beautiful bell-metal cup he had thus received, the hole from that day ceased to lend any more utensils.

It is said that latterly the fugitive Rájá of Kharakpúr, when pursued by his Muhammadan enemies, took refuge in this hole with a few faithful followers. The hole is believed to be very spacious and almost interminable; for it was through this subterranean passage that the Rájá was often seen to issue out at Bhím-band, a distance of more than twelve miles. There is a common saying still repeated by the people to the effect that hundred drums and hundred tomtoms, if beaten at one end of the hole, do not make a sound loud enough to reach the other. But the passage is now obstructed by loose stones from the hill having fallen down at the mouth, which my guide said, accounted for my not seeing a passage beyond the small room above mentioned, except a small hole just large enough to allow my hand to pass through it.

About half a mile farther west, our guide showed us a spot where rice is said to be found in large quantities under the earth; but on digging the ground with a club, we could get only minute pieces of stone in shape of rice, which our guide, however, persisted in holding, was burnt rice. As it was still dark, I thought it proper to proceed on our journey, proposing to examine the spot on our way back. But unfortunately, I returned by a different route.

I reached Páñchkumár at 7 A. M. About a hundred yards from the foot of the hill, there is a small brick house standing in the clasp of a banian tree, which by throwing roots around and within the structure, has helped to prolong its existence and thereby to preserve the memory of the suttee, to commemorate which it

was built; for it was here that the Rání of the fugitive Rája sacrificed herself on hearing that her husband had been taken a prisoner to Delhi, and there put to death. This last item of news appears to have been false; for as I have already observed, the Rája after all was not put to death as he had expected, but was converted to Islám and made to marry the emperor's daughter. The five daughters who had taken refuge in the hill above, were pursued by the cruel enemies for the sake of their beauty; but, like the Rájput maidens of old, preferring their honor to their lives, they leaped from the precipice into the frightful gorge of the hill below, and there met a watery grave. It is this circumstance which has given name to the hill,—‘Páñchkumári,’ or the ‘five virgins.’

The hill, which is the source of the *Mán*, is famous for a waterfall during the rains. In the cold season, the water only trickles down its side from a height of about twenty feet from the ground, but the prospect is a very beautiful one. Having, however, all along expected a grand waterfall from a great height, we were naturally disappointed. But our guide told us that the great waterfall which has made the place famous, existed over the top of the hill, where we might also see the tremendous gorge in which the five virgins sacrificed their lives. We accordingly ascended the hill, though by one of the steepest and most difficult passages, instead of taking the easy, but circuitous, route. As we reached the top, exhausted and panting for breath, our guide pointed out to us a miniature intrenchment of stone, said to have been thrown up by the Rája before taking refuge in Músakhól, when, driven from his guddee, he made preparations for defending himself and his family at this last stronghold with his handful of troops. But to have a view of the Panchkumar as well as of the waterfall, we were required to follow the course of the stream as it leaped down from precipice to precipice till it was lost amidst the waters of the *Mán*. To descend so great a declivity was no easy task. We were all obliged not only to doff our shoes, that we might not miss our footsteps, but also to crawl on all fours for more than half an hour. In this condition we trudged on our way to the base of the great waterfall overlooking a height

of about 60 or 70 feet. A column of water from so great a height swelled by the water of the preceding smaller waterfalls, must during the rains present a sight at once picturesque and grand. We observed some huge pieces of stones torn by it from the side of the hill and lying about the basin into which the water falls. Afterwards we proceeded to the brink of the precipice from which the five virgins are said to have thrown themselves into the chasm below.

About half a mile west of Panchkumar, stands another hill at the foot of which are the Kaldaha and Maldaha, two deep basins of water in the bed of the Mán. In the former a mysterious iron chain is said to hang from the sides of the hill, the object of which is not known. The upper end of this chain is fixed to the rock, and the lower is supposed to support some thing mysterious, which no strength has yet been able to lift out of the water. We could not see the chain, as even the upper end is not visible till the water subsides considerably in March or April.

About half a mile from the Kaldaha, may be seen the river Haha, as it glides down the hill on which it takes its rise. This place is well known for a species of fish called 'Khajur,' which is said to live almost solely on milk, and is considered very delicious. The inhabitants in the neighbourhood own large herds of buffaloes, and as these animals delight in lying in the water for hours, the Khajur has no difficulty in finding the food on which it subsists. The fishes are occasionally seen hanging by the teats of the buffaloes, if the latter happen to rise suddenly from the water.

When wishing to catch these fishes, the natives drive herds of buffaloes into the water and then throw a net near them. The Khajur is not found anywhere else.

II.

On various places situated in Sub-Division Banka, Bhágalspur.

23rd August, 1869.—The following legend is related regarding the origin of Somokhia, a place about six miles north-west of Banka. The founder of the Ghatwál family of the place, named Gautam Panday, was employed as astrologer to the

first Rájá of Kharakpúr. One day when the latter was going to angle, he asked his astrologer to foretell what sport he was to secure. Gautam answered, "Your majesty will catch a Títur (a species of bird) to-day." The Rájá thereupon burst into a laugh, and in derision showed him his fishing-rod. Gautam, however, full of confidence in the accuracy of his favourite art, persisted in saying, he was to catch a Títur and nothing else that day. The Rájá went to his nearest tank, and threw his hook into it, when behold! the prey which his angle dragged to shore was not a fish, as he had taken it to be, but a Títur. Pleased and astonished the Rájá now asked Gautam to name a place in his estates, that he might grant it him as a reward. Gautam consulted the stars, in order to ascertain the spot where his family name and glory would never become extinct, but could find no propitious ground for the purpose, except some uninhabited jungles. The place, no sooner asked, was granted, and was called by him 'Somokheyo,' imperishable. The hopes and predictions of the astrologer have, however, been falsified; for the glory of his family has now departed with their possessions.

On my way from Somokhia to Cozhí, I visited the Jhurna, named after the spring at the foot of the hill, where a great mela, or fair, is held on the last day of Pús in honour of the goddess supposed to preside over the spring. The temple was built by Rájá Debai, one of the race of Khetaurí, on the rocks overhanging the spring. It was once situated near the gate of his fort, and has entirely disappeared; but the exotic creepers and plants, still seen around the ruins, attest the care and attention once bestowed upon the temple. A few hundred yards from the spring, I was shown the place where once stood the palace of the Rájá himself. But a few stones and bricks are all that is left to mark the spot so memorable in connection with a race which appears to have monopolized the sovereignty of the whole of Bihár just before the Muhammadan conquest of the country.

Camp Cozhí, 24th August.—On arriving at Cozhí, I inspected the operation of iron smelting. This was carried on only by the Kols, neither the Hindús, the Muhammadans, nor the Sentháls taking any part in it from some prejudice or other. The

iron is smelted in an earthen oven of the form of a cylinder, coal being generally used as fuel. It is curious that the union of a man and a woman is always considered absolutely necessary for the operation, the general belief, both among the initiated as well as the uninitiated being, that the iron ore would not melt unless the fire beneath be blown with a pair of bellows worked by a man with his younger brother's wife passing her arms round his waist from behind.

As far as I could judge, the metal was not completely extracted from the ore by the rude process employed. The ore is dug out from mines in the jungles.

25th August.—I ascended one of the hills of Cozhí, which is named Phúkí in consequence of a large cavity at the top which, according to some, is the passage by which the Giant Mayabee fled to the nether world after his overthrow by Rája Báli, and through which his blood subsequently flowed when killed, as related in the Rámáyana. On ascending, I observed that it was a horizontal cavity probably hewn out of the solid rock by some recluse who had retired to it from the world, in order to pass his days in contemplation and prayer. The people, of course, spoke of mysterious holes existing in it, which had communication with the nether world. But the cavity emitted a horrible stench, and was too dark in some parts to allow of a minute examination. Having, however, seen the Buddhist caves of Khondgiri in the district of Púrí, I could not resist the conviction that the cavity in the Phúkí hill was an abortive attempt at imitating those wonderful vaulted halls amounting to some hundreds, each of which, and sometimes several, have been hewn, without fracture, out of a single piece of rock.

26th August.—Visited all the villages comprised within the circular range of hills which go under the name of Cozhí. From Calcutta to Púrí and Sambalpúr on one side, and Delhi, Rúrki, and Hardwár on the other, I have not seen a spot more romantically situated than Cozhí, surrounded as it is by a ring of hills which, in the rays of the sun, present the appearance of an annular eclipse, and bounded as it is on three sides by a stream gliding at the foot of the hills over a bed of sand. It

appeared rather surprising to me that Rāja Debai should, in troublesome times, have fixed his capital outside rather than within this impregnable natural fortress, which is about ten miles in circuit. The climate of Cozhí is, however, considered very unhealthy. This may be the effect of prejudice, as the Hindús have a natural antipathy to hills and the sea. The highest of the Cozhí hills, named Bhorum, is inconsistently enough believed to be the ill-fated residence of Rāma, whence his wife Sítá was taken away by Rāvanā. The name of the hill, which means 'error,' is said to refer to the circumstance of Rāma's pursuing a counterfeit deer, which caused the loss of his beloved wife. The trace of a well is all that is to be seen on the spot connected with the memory of this deified hero.

Panchboti where Sítá's abduction is believed to have taken place, is situated on the banks of the Godávarí near the present town of Násik. But the natural proneness of human nature to associate localities with great names, seems to have led the Hindús to identify not only Cozhí, but various other places in India with reminiscences of Rāma's wanderings. At Blubanoswar near Khondgiri, the priests show pilgrims the spot where Sítá gave birth to twins, though that honour more properly belongs to Valmiki's hermitage near Bithur. I was shown the footprints of Rāma alike on the marble rocks of the Narbadda near Jabalpúr as well as on the stones buried in the bed of the Mahánaddá near Sambalpúr.

In the boundary line between Cozhí and Kukwára, stands a Kenchi tree bearing the signatures of all versed in letters who pass by the way. The bark, it is believed, possesses the singular virtue of spontaneously tracing the Nágari characters which compose the name of Rāma and of retaining any inscriptions written on it for ages, the growth of the tree making them ascend higher and higher from the ground. The tree has given name to the village on the confines of which it is situated. For the village is called Likhní Cozhí,—*Likhni* signifying to write, and *Cozhí* being a corruption of *Kenchi*. It is highly probable that the principal village, Cozhí, which has given name to the whole mahall and the long range of hills in it, has derived its own name from a large number of Kenchi trees which formerly grew there.

25th December.—A mile from Chhetar are the ruins of an old fort or rather cutchery, where a high Muhammadan functionary used to reside for the purpose of collecting rent. His oppressions, it is said, spread misery far and wide, and even the zamíndárs were subjected to every species of indignity. The great grandfather of the present zamíndár, Teknaráyan Singh, resolved to rid the world of so great a tyrant, waited on him, of course without arms, and was admitted. As he approached, the Muhammadan dignitary rose to receive him, and by way of salutation extended both his hands which the athletic visitor caught in his own with so powerful a gripe, that the tyrant was stretched a corpse on the ground, without even being able to give alarm. Coming out, he informed the guards at the door of the sudden death of the functionary, and as they entered the house in confusion, he beat the great drum and gave the signal for a general rise against the Muhammadan rule.

29th December.—About 6 miles from Blitia, rise the hills of Fullidumer, which form a sort of natural fortification around the village of that name. There is an opening towards the north, which was formerly fenced by a mud wall. The traces of this wall have now completely disappeared under the cultivator's plough, but men are still living who saw it almost entire. Within this impregnable natural fortress, there lived a Khetaurí Rája by name Fath Singh, who is stated to have lived at the commencement of the British rule. It is said that he waged a long and obstinate contest for independence; but at last his followers were cut off till he had not a single soldier left to guard his fortress. In this stress he contrived, however, to keep up the show of a large army by fixing 1200 guns on the mud wall above-mentioned, and firing them with the aid of his women and servants. The almost simultaneous discharge of so many guns from the ramparts of an impregnable fortress kept his enemies at bay, and also helped to keep the surrounding country in subjection. But at last the artifice was discovered, and then he fell without a struggle.

7th January, 1870.—At Dáopúr about seven miles north of Lachmípúr, may be seen the ruins of some buildings regarding

which the following tradition exists. In the year 965, Fasli, two brothers, Sinha Kái and Sursi Rái, having been deprived by their relations of their share of ancestral property, abandoned their native place of Khurchuta in Hazáribágh, and arriving at Deogarh, fell in *dhurna* before the great idol. The oracle commanded them to travel towards the north, where riches and prosperity awaited their descendants. They accordingly came to this Sub-Division, which was then full of jungles, and as the present thákur of Lachmípúr traces his genealogy to these brothers, the prediction of the oracle is believed to have been fulfilled. Sinha Rái's son, Ranblím Rái, cleared the forests and founded the village which is now called Jandahá; but it was at the time of his grandson, Sujun Rái, that the place rose to great importance, and excited the cupidity of the Rája of Kharakpúr. The latter accordingly equipped with a large army, and built an outpost at Dáopúr. The rapid Chandan* flowed between the two contending parties. Sujun Rái, of course, thought himself no match for his rival, who had just then established his sovereignty over the ruins of the states of fifty-two Khotaurí Rájas. So he adopted a stratagem instead of having recourse to open battle. He spread a rumour to the effect that he had collected a very large army in the jungles, and in order to confirm this, he caused several thousands of *donds* (cups made of *sál* leaves) to float down the stream with *sathú* and *dahí* sprinkled over each, so as to lead to the impression that the soldiers had taken their meals on them. The course of the stream brought these *donás* below Dáopúr, and as each *doná* represented a soldier, the Rája was led to conclude that he had to deal with an army much larger than his own. This was not all. Sujun Rái, with the aid of a very powerful horse, leaped unseen over the Rája's battlements at night, and having fixed a dart into the masonry floor where the Rája slept, came away without taking his enemy's life which he might easily have done. The Rája was not only frightened at these proofs of his antagonist's skill and prowess, but was filled with admiration at his magnanimity.

* According to Col. Franklin, the Chandan is the *Brannoboas* of the Greeks; vide his 'Inquiry into the site of the ancient Palibothra.'

But vide Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, Vol. I, p. 453. THE EDITOR.

He immediately retreated, and never afterwards disturbed Sujun in his possessions.

19th January.—Nearly a mile from Poir, is an opening between two hills called Murtangá, meaning ‘head suspended.’ It has derived this name from the circumstance of a leader of the hill men having been executed at the place. His head was suspended from a tree as a warning to the savages who used to enter the country by the pass, and harass the former zamíndár of Poir by incessant incursions. On one of these hills may be seen a temple containing an emblem of Shíva; which is supposed to guard over the destiny of this now ill-fated family. The emblem itself is said to have undergone various vicissitudes of fortune. For some time it was the property of an oilman, who used it as a weight for selling oil during the day, and as a press over his wares during the night. Not well pleased with the duty it had to perform, it appeared to the great grandfather of the present zamíndár of Poir in a dream, and representing its distress, wanted to be adored and fed with offerings. The dreamer at first built a temple for it in the plains; but as if elated with too sudden prosperity, or afraid of being reduced to its former condition, it demanded to be located in a temple on the hill. So the present temple was built.

20th January.—At Kurmahát, there is a very old brick building, the walls of which only are standing. A very good *pucka* road leads from it to some other buildings which are now entirely in ruins. These buildings are generally said to be hunting villas of Sháh Shujá’, and are therefore called Shikárgáh by the learned; but according to the popular belief, they rose up in one night as if by enchantment, and were used by an emperor whom they call Rúmsháh.

There is a very old well at Poir which is also attributed to the same emperor.

The Country of Braj.—By F. S. Growse, Esq., M. A., C. S.

Whatever the changes in the national religion, the city of Mathurá has continued from remotest antiquity the chosen centre of Hindú devotion. When Buddhism prevailed throughout India, the votaries of Sakya Muni were drawn from the far distant realm of China to visit its sacred shrines; and when the temples of Buddha were swept away by the torrent of Pauránik Brahmanism, the desecrated sites were speedily occupied by the new order of divinities. Though the city was plundered of all its accumulated wealth by the very first of the great Muhammadan invaders, the sacred edifices themselves survived, and for a period of 700 years continued to be enriched with successive donations, till Aurangzeb, the last and most fanatical of the Delhi emperors, razed every stone to the ground, built mosques with the materials, and abolished the very name of the city, changing it from Mathurá to Islámábád. But the humiliation was of short continuance; after the death of Aurangzeb and the virtual extinction of the empire, first ensued a period of anarchy in which neither Hindú nor Musalmán had the power to crush his neighbour, and then the tolerant sway of Great Britain, under which both are equally protected. Thus in the present day, after the lapse of a century and half from the period of its utter ruin, though the temples have lost the charm of antiquity, nor can boast the enormous wealth which they enjoyed in the days of the great Indo-Scythian sovereigns, Kanishka and Huvishka and their successors till the invasion of Mahmúd, yet the holy city has no lack of stately buildings, with which, as described of old in the Harivansa, it rises beautiful as the crescent moon over the dark stream of the Jamuná.*

No ancient authorities state in precise phrase the origin of the name 'Mathurá:' but as the district has always been celebrated for its wide extent of pasture land and many herds of cattle, it is more than probable that the word is connected with the Sanskrit root

* अर्धचन्द्रप्रतीकाया यमूनानोरजोभिता. Harivansa, 3100.

math, 'to churn.*' In support of this theory, it may be observed that many places in the district unmistakeably derive their names from similar terms of rural life. For example, Gokul means originally 'a herd of kine;' Gobardhan, 'a reärer of kine;' and Bañhan, the name of two extensive villages near the town of Kosi, 'a cattle-pen.' Thus too Mát, on the bank of the Jamuná opposite Brindá-ban, is so called from *mát*, 'a milk pail;' and Dadhigánw, contracted into Dahgánw, in the Kosi Pargana, from *dadhi*, 'curds.' Native scholars would probably prefer to see in Mathurá an allusion to Madhu-mathan, a title of Krishna, implying the destroyer of Madhu, the demon on the site of whose stronghold the city was first founded, and from whom it is sometimes called Madhupúri; but this legend, there can be little doubt, is of later date than the local name.

According to Hindú topography, the town forms the centre of a circuit of 84 *kos*, called the circle of Braj or Braj-man-ḍal. This word Braj also means in the first instance 'a herd;' the noun being derived from the root *vraj*, 'to go,' and acquiring its signification from the fact that cattle are always on the move and never can remain long on one pasture-ground. For a similar reason the pastoral tribe of Ahírs, originally abhírs, take their name from the root *ír*, 'to go,' with the prefix *abhi*, 'about.' Hence it arises that in the earliest authorities for Krishna's adventures both Vraja and Gokula are used to denote not the definite localities now bearing those names, but any chance spot temporarily used for stalling cattle: inattention to this archaism has led to some confusion in assigning sites to the various legends.

* Thus in all descriptions of the local scenery the churn forms a prominent feature, as for example in the Harivansa, 3395.

क्षेमं प्रचारयच्छलं हृष्टपृष्ठजनादृतं ।
 दामनीप्रायवच्छलं गर्गरोद्गारनिखनं ॥
 तत्रनिखावच्छलं दधिमण्डार्द्रवृत्तिकं ।
 मन्यानवल्लयोद्गारैर्गोपाणां जनितखनं ॥

"A fine country of many pasture lands and well nurtured people, full of ropes for tethering cattle, resonant with the voice of the sputtering churn, and abounding in oceans of curds; where the soil is ever moist with the froth of milk, and the stick with its circling cord sputters merrily in the milk pail, as the girls spin it round." And again in section 73 of the same poem ब्रजेषु च विवेश गर्गरोद्गारवाहिषु, "in homesteads gladdened by the sputtering churn."

It is probable that if an accurate measurement were made, 84 kos would be found a very rough approximation, more or less, to the actual distance traversed by the pilgrims in performing the *Pari-krama*, or Perambulation of Braj. In ancient Indian territorial divisions, a *chaurási*, or group of 84 villages, occurs as frequently as a hundred in English counties. The same number, as has been most elaborately demonstrated by Sir Henry Elliot in his *Supplementary Glossary*, enters largely into every cycle of Hindú legend and cosmogony. There can be no doubt that it was originally selected for such general adoption as being the multiple of the number of months in the year with the number of days in the week. It is therefore peculiarly appropriate in connection with the Braj Mandál, if Krishna, in whose honour the perambulation is performed, be regarded as the Indian Apollo, or sun-god.

The first aspect of the country is a little disappointing to the student of Sanskrit literature, whom the glowing eulogiums of the poets have led to anticipate a second vale of Tempó. The soil, being poor and thin, is unfavourable to the growth of most large forest trees: the mango and shisham, the glory of the lower Duáb are conspicuously absent, their place being most inadequately supplied by the *ním*, *farás*, and various species of the fig tribe. For the same reason the dust in any ordinary weather is deep on all the thoroughfares, and if the slightest air is stirring, rises in a dense cloud and veils the whole landscape in an impenetrable haze. The Jamuná, the one great river of Braj, during eight months of the year meanders slowly a mere rivulet between wide expanses of sand, bounded by monotonous flats of arable land, or high banks cracked and broken by the rapidly expended force of contributory torrents into ugly chasms and stony ravines naked of all vegetation. As the limits of Braj from north to south on one side are defined by the high lands across the Jamuná, so are they on the other side by the hill range of Bharatpúr, but there are few peaks of conspicuous height and the general outline is tame and unimpressive. The villages, though large, are meanly built, and betray the untidiness characteristic of Játs and Gújars, the chief proprietary classes. From a distance they are often picturesque, being built on the slope of natural or artificial mounds, and thus gain

dignity by elevation. But on nearer approach they are found to consist of labyrinths of the narrowest lanes winding between the mud walls of large enclosures, which are rather cattle yards than houses. At the base of the hill is ordinarily a broad circle of waste land, studded with low trees and karīl bushes, which afford grateful shade and pasturage for the herds ; while the large pond, from which the earth was dug to construct the village site, supplies them throughout the year with water. At sunrise and sunset the thoroughfares are all but impassable, as the straggling hords of oxen and buffaloes leave and return to the homestead ; for in the straitened precincts of an ordinary village are stalled every night from 500 or 600 to 1000 head of cattle, at least equalling, often outnumbering, the human population. The general poverty of the district forms the motif of a popular Hindi couplet, in which Krishna's neglect to enrich the land of his birth with any choicer product than the karīl or wild caper is cited as an illustration of his wilfulness. The lines may be thus done into English :

Krishna, you see, will never lose his wayward whims and vapours ;
For Kābul teems with luscious fruit, while Braj boasts only capers.

However, in the rains, at which season of the year all pilgrimages are made, the Jamunā is a mighty stream, a mile or more broad ; its many contributory torrents and all the ponds and lakes with which the district abounds are filled to overflowing ; the hill side is clothed with the foliage of the *dho* trees, the dusty plain is transformed into a green sward, and the smiling prospect goes far to justify the warmest panegyrics of the Hindu poets, whose appreciation of the scenery, it must be remembered, has been further intensified by religious enthusiasm. Even at all seasons of the year, the landscape has a quiet charm of its own ; a sudden turn in the winding lane reveals a grassy knoll with stone-built well and overhanging pīpal ; or some sacred grove with dense thicket of prickly ber and weird pīlo trees with clusters of tiny berries and strangely gnarled and twisted trunks, entangled in a creeping undergrowth of hins and chhonkar and karīl ; and in the centre bordered with flowering oleander and niwāra, a still, cool lake with modest shrine and well-fenced bush of tulsī on the raised terrace, from which a broad flight of steps, gift of some thankful pilgrim

from afar, leads down to the water's edge. The most pleasing architectural works in the district are the large masonry tanks; these are very numerous and all display excellent taste in design and skill in execution. The temples, though in some instances of considerable size, are all, excepting those in the three large towns, utterly devoid of artistic merit.

It is only in a very loose and ideal sense that Mathurá can be regarded as the centre of the circle; since it is but 10 miles distant from the most southern point, Baldeva, and some 30 from the northern extremity, Kotban. This fact gives colour to a theory, which Elliot mentions under the word 'chaurási,' and supports by reference to what he calls a trite Hindi couplet, that in earlier times the country of Braj was of much wider extent. The boundaries therein specified are Bar, Son, and the village of Súrasen, which latter is taken to mean Batesar* on the Jamuná below Agra, which is still a place of pilgrimage and scene of a large fair on the full moon of Kártik. But it is certain that all the recognized sacred sites are included within the modern limits of the parikrama; and whatever may be the authority of the lines quoted, they are not familiar in the present day to any of the local pandits; nor can they be of any great antiquity, since they contain the Persian word '*hadd*.' In the Váraha Purána, the Mathurá-Mandal is described as 20 yojanas in extent. Taking the yojana as 7 miles, and the kos as $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile, 20 yojanas would be about equal to 84 kos. It is said that the greater perambulation is occasionally performed by the more devout and occupies a period of two months, while the smaller circuit is completed in half that time. But the fact in itself is questionable, and in any case it is only the shorter route, now to be described, which can claim attention as a popular devotion.

The perambulation commences in Bhádon (August—September,) on account of the anniversary of Krishna's birth being celebrated in that month. The number of sacred places,† woods, groves, ponds, wells, hills, and temples—all to be visited in fixed order is very considerable; but the 12 Bans or woods, and 24 groves or Upabans,

* It might mean the town of Mathurá itself, king Ugrasen being sometimes styled Súrasen.

† There are said to be 5 hills, 11 rocks, 4 lakes, 84 ponds, and 12 wells.

are the characteristic feature of the pilgrimage, which is thence popularly called the 'Ban-jātra.' The numbers 12 and 24 have been arbitrarily selected on account of their mystic significance, and probably few Hindú ritualists, if asked off-hand to enumerate the 24 Upabans, would agree precisely in the specification. The following list is taken from a Hindí Directory for the use of pilgrims, which may be considered the standard authority on the subject, and is no doubt published *permissu superiorum*.

The 12 Bans : Madhu-ban ; Tálban ; Kumud-ban ; Bahulá-ban ; Kám-ban ; Khadira-ban ; Brindá-ban ; Bhadra-ban ; Bhandír-ban ; Bel-ban ; Lch-ban, and Mahá-ban.

The 24 Upabans : Gokul, Gobardhan, Barsána, Nandgánw, Sanket, Parimadra, Aríng, Sessai, Mát, Unchagánw, Khel-ban, Srí-kund,* Gandharv-ban, Parásoli, Bilchu, Bachh-ban, Adi-badri, Karahla, Ajnokh, Pisáyo, Kokila-ban, Dadhigánw, Kot-ban, and Rával.†

This list bears internal evidence of antiquity in its want of close correspondence with existing facts ; since some of the places, though retaining their traditionary repute, have now nothing that can be dignified with the name either of wood or grove, while others are known only by the villagers in the immediate neighbourhood. They have been supplanted in popular estimation by rival sites of more easy access or greater natural attractions. Starting from Mathurá the pilgrims make their first halt at the village of Maholí, where they visit Madhu-ban, the fabled stronghold of the giant Madhu.‡ They then turn south to Tálban in the village of Társi, where Balarám vanquished the demon Dhonuk, and recovering the original line of march at Báti, pay their respects to Kumud-ban and Bahulá-ban.§ Next passing through the villages of Tosh, Jakhin-gánw, and Mukhrái, they arrive at Rádhá-kund with the two sacred pools

* Srikund, i. e. Holy-well, is another name for Radha-kund.

† The twelve Bans are connected with Pauránik legends, and are all mentioned by name in the *Mathurá Mahátmya*. The 24 Upabans refer mainly to Rádhá's adventures, and have no ancient authority whatever. Gobardhan, the one exception, is as much a centre of sanctity as Mathurá itself, and though for the sake of uniformity it is now included in the list of Upabans, it is never strictly so regarded.

‡ Madhu-Suđan, i. e. the destroyer of Madhu, is one of Krishna's favorite titles : the reason is not very obvious, since all authorities agree that Madhu was dead some generations before Krishna took birth.

§ Báti would appear to be a contraction of Bahula-vati.

prepared for Krishna's expiatory ablution after he had slain the bull Arishta. At midnight, on the 8th day of the dark fortnight of the month Kartik, the spirits of all the holy places in India renew their visit to this auspicious spot; and every devout Hindú who at that particular time takes a plunge beneath the wave, is washed clean from every sin, and acquires the same amount of merit as if he had made a separate pilgrimage to each of the assembled divinities at his own special locality. The town which has arisen on the margin of these two famous lakes, is of considerable extent, and is crowded with religious edifices, the pious foundations of princes and pilgrims from the most remote parts of India. One temple in particular may be mentioned as erected by the Rájá of Manipúr, from the far east of Bengal. The two lakes are parted only by a broad stone terrace, and are both faced on all four sides with long, unbroken flights of steps of the same material. Ordinarily the water is so abundant that it washes nearly the highest tier, being supplied by the natural drainage of a wide extent of woodland, locally called 'the Ghaná;' and the charm of the broad and brimming basin is much enhanced by the unusual care that is taken to preserve it free from all pollution. Till the beginning of this century, the two reservoirs were simply as nature had designed them; the present stone gháts were completed in the year 1817, at the sole cost of Rájá Bábu, a native of Calcutta, but proprietor of large landed estates in the neighbourhood both of Mathurá and Anúpsahr. The whole quarter of the town in the immediate vicinity of the lakes is occupied exclusively by a colony of Bengalis.

On the borders of the parish of Rádhá-kund is Kusum-sarovar, or 'the flowery lake,' a magnificent sheet of water, 460 feet square, with broad flights of stone steps broken up on each side by projecting arcades of elegant design into one wide central and four smaller lateral gháts. A lofty terrace runs the whole length of the east side, having its front relieved with two-storied kiosques and alcoves of varied outline, and bears the stately tombs of Súraj-mal, the founder of the present Bharatpúr dynasty and his two queens, Hansiya* and Kishori. From this point rough fragments

* Haus-ganj, on the bank of the Jamuná immediately opposite Mathurá, was founded by this Rání; in consequence of a diversion of the road which once

of rock crop up above the surface of the soil, and form the beginning of the celebrated range of Gobardhaṅ, Giri-rāj or the Royal Hill, as it is generally styled. About the centre of the line stands the town of Gobardhan, clustering round a vast irregularly shaped tank, called the Mánasi Gangá. Here a great fair, known as the Dípdán, or 'Offering of Lamps,' is held every year on the festival of the Diváli, about the beginning of the cold season, and is frequently attended by as many as 100,000 visitors. On the bank stand two sumptuous monuments in memory of two of the late Rajas of Bharatpur; and from a rising ground opposite frowns the ancient temple of Harideva, the most solemn and imposing, save one, of all the religious buildings in Upper India. The pilgrims visit in order all the sacred sites in the neighbourhood; the village of Basái, where the two divine children with their foster-parents once came and 'dwelt' (*basáe*); the grove of Árīng; Madhuri-kund; Morban, the haunt of the peacock, and Chandra-sarovar, *i. e.* the moon-lake, where Brahma joining with the Gopis in the mystic dance was so enraptured with delight, that all unconscious of the fleeting hours he allowed the single night to extend over a period of six months. After a visit to Paitho, where the people of Braj 'came in' (*paiṭha*) to take shelter from the storms of Indra under the uplifted range, they pass along the heights of Gobardhan to Anyor, 'the other end,' and so by many sacred rocks, as Sugandhi sila, Sindúri Sila and Sundar Sila with its temple of Gobardhaṅ-náth, to Gopálpur, Bilchu, and Gántholi, where the marriage 'knot' (*gánth*) was tied that confirmed the union of Rádhá and Krishna. Then following the Bharatpúr frontier, they arrive at the famous Kámban, with the Luk-luk cave where the boys played blind-man's-buff, and Aghásur's cave where the demon of that name was destroyed, and leaving Kanwárogánw enter again upon British territory near the village of Unchágánw with its richly endowed temple of Baldeva. Close by is Barsána, where Rádhá was brought up by her parents Brikhbhán and Kírat, with Dohanikund near Chiksauli, where as Jasoda was cleansing her 'milk-pail' (*dohani*) she first saw the youthful pair together and vowed that one day

passed through it, it is now that most melancholy of all spectacles, a modern ruin.

they should be husband and wife ; Prem-sarovar, or Lovelake, where first the amorous tale was told, and Sánkari Khor, the narrow pass between the hills, where Krishna lay in ambush and levied his toll of milk on the Gopis as they came in from Gahvarban, ' the thick forest' beyond. Next are visited Sanket ; Rithora, home of Chandrávali, Radha's faithful attendant ; and Nand-gánw, long the abode of Nanda and Jasoda, with the great lake Pán-sarovar, at the foot of the hill, where Krishna morning and evening drove his foster-father's cattle to ' water' (*pán*). Next in order come the villages of Karahla ; Kamai,* where one of Rádhá's humble friends was honored by a visit from her lord and mistress in the course of their rambles ; Ajnokh,† where Krishna pencilled his lady's eyebrow with *anjan*, as she reclined in careless mood on the green sward ; and Pisáyo, where she found him fainting with ' thirst' (*piyás*)‡ and revived him with a draught of water. Then, still bearing due north, the pilgrims come to Khadira-ban in Khaira ; Kumar-ban and Jávak-ban in Jáo, where Krishna tinged his lady's feet with the red Jávak dye ; and Kokila-ban, ever musical with the voice of the cuckoo ; and so arrive at the foot of Charan Pahár in Little Baṭhan, where Indra descended from heaven on his elephant Airávatī, and did homage to the lord of Braj, as to this day is attested by the prints of the divine feet (*sharan*) impressed upon the rock. They then pass on through Dadhigánw, where Krishna stayed behind to divert himself with the village girls, having sent Baldeva on ahead with the cows to Baṭhan, and so reach Koṭban,§ the northernmost point of the perambulation.

The first village on the homeward route is Sessai (Sesha's couch), where Krishna revealed his divinity by assuming the emblems of Náráyan, and reclining under the canopied heads of the great serpent Sesha, into whose form Baldeva had transfigured himself ;

* This simple name ' Kamai ' is distorted on the Government map into the unpronounceable form Kowycen ! Khayra also appears as Khaeruh.

† Ajnokh, or in its fuller form Ajnokhari, is a contraction for Anjan pokhari, the Anjan lake. So Kusum Sarovar is sometimes called Kusumokhar.

‡ The connection of Pisáyo with *piyás* is rather far-fetched. But most of the other derivations are equally unscientific. They are quoted not for their philological value, but as shewing how thoroughly the whole country side is impregnated with the legends of Krishna, where some allusion to him is detected in the name of every village.

§ As Tarsi derives its name from Tálban, so it would seem, the town of Kosi from Koṭban.

but the vision was all too high a mystery for the herdsmen's simple daughters, who begged the two boys to doff such fantastic guise and once more as they were wont join them in the sprightly dance. Then reaching the Jamuná at Khefban by Shergarh, where Krishna's temples were decked with the marriage wreath (*se-hara*),* they follow the course of the river by Chir Ghát, where the frolicsome god stole the bathers' clothes, and arrive at Nand-ghát. Here Nanda bathing one night was carried off by the myrmidons of the sea-god Varuna, who had long been lying in wait for this very purpose, since their master knew that Krishna would at once follow to recover his foster-father, and thus the depths of ocean, too, no less than earth would be gladdened with the vision of the incarnate deity. The adjoining village of Bhayánw† derives its name from the 'terror' (*bhay*) that ensued on the news of Nanda's disappearance. The pilgrims next pass through Bachh-ban, where the demon Bachhásur was slain; the two villages of Basái, where the Gopis were first 'subdued' (*hasái*) by the power of love; Atas, Nari-Semri,‡ Satikra, and Akrúr, where Kansa's perfidious invitation to the contest of arms was received; and lastly Bhatron§, where one day when the two boys' stock of provisions had run short, some Brahman's wives supplied their wants; though the husbands, to whom application was first made, had churlishly refused; and so arrive at Brindában, where many a sacred ghát and venerable shrine claim devout attention.

The pilgrims then cross the river and visit the tangled thickets of Bel-ban|| in Jahángirpúr; the town of Mát with the adjoining woods of Bhandír-ban and Bhadra-ban, where the son of Rohini

* This is a curious specimen of perverted etymology illustrating the persistency with which Hindús and Muhammadans each go their own way, and ignore each other's existence. There can be no doubt that the town derives its name from a large fort, of which the ruins still remain, built by Sher Sháh, Emperor of Delhi from 1540 to 1545, A.D.

† This village is more ordinarily and perhaps more correctly written and pronounced Bhaugánw.

‡ A large fair called the Nau Durgá is held at the village of Nari Semri during the dark fortnight of Chait, the commencement of the Hindu year. The same festival is also celebrated at Sanchauli in the Kosi Parganah and at Nagar-koṭ in Gurgáon.

§ To commemorate this event, a fair called the Bhat-mela, is held at Bhatron in the month of Kartik.

|| Balbhadra, 'the strong and good,' *δρῖος ἰσχυρός*, is an alternative name for Balarám.

first received his distinctive title of Balarāma, *i. e.* Rāma the strong, in consequence of the prowess he had displayed in vanquishing the demon Pralamba; Dāngoli, where Krishna dropt his 'staff,' (*ḍāng*) and the fair lake of Māñ-sarovār, scene of a passing lovers' 'quarrel' (*mān*). Then follow the villages, of Piparoli, with its broad-spreading pīpal trees; Loh-ban, perpetuating the defeat of the demon Lohāsūr; Gopālpūr, favourite station of the herdsmen; and Rāval, where Radha was born and passed the first years of infancy before her parents went to live at Barsāna. Next comes Burhiya kā khērā, home of the old dame whose son had taken in marriage Rādhā's friend Mānvati. The fickle Krishna saw and loved, and in order to gratify his passion undisturbed, assumed the husband's form. The unsuspecting bride received him fondly to her arms, while the good mother was enjoined to keep close watch below, and if any one came to the door pretending to be her son, by no means to open to him but rather, if he persisted, pelt him with brick-bats till he ran away. So the honest man lost his wife, and got his head broken into the bargain. After leaving the scene of this merry jest, the pilgrims pass on to Bandigānw, name commemorative of Jasoda's two faithful domestics, Bandi and Anandi, and arrive at Baldeva, with its wealthy temple dedicated in honour of that divinity and his spouse Revati. Then beyond the village of Hathora are the two river fords, Chintaharan, 'the dispeller of doubt,' and Brahmānda, 'creation' Ghāt. Here the child Krishna's playmates came running to tell Jasoda that he had been stuffing his mouth with clay; but when she took up a stick to punish him, he opened his mouth to prove the story false, and showed her there the whole terrestrial globe, with all its seas and continents distinct, within the compass of his baby cheeks. Close by is the town of Mahāban, famous for many incidents in Krishna's infancy, where he was rocked in the cradle, and received his name from the great pandit Garg, and where he did to death Pūtana and the other evil spirits whom Kausa had commissioned to destroy him. At Gokul on the river bank are innumerable shrines and temples dedicated to the god under some one or other of his favourite titles, as Bīṭṭhālnāth, Madan Mohan, Mādhav Rāe, Kalyān Rāe, Gokul-nāth, Nava-nīl-priya and Divārakā-nāth, and when all have been

duly honoured with a visit, the weary pilgrims finally recross the stream, and sit down to rest at the point from which they started, the Visránt Ghát, the holiest place in the holy city of Mathurá.

As shewn in the above narrative, many of the incidents to which the attention of the pilgrims is directed in the course of the perambulation refer to Krishna's amours with Rádhá, and accordingly have no place in the original Pauránik legends, where Rádhá is barely mentioned even by name. It would seem that the earliest literary authority for these popular interpolations is no Sanskrit work whatever, but a Hindi poem, entitled the Braj Bilás, written by one Brajbási Dás, so recently as the middle of last century.* He represents his work as derived from the Puránas, which except in the main outlines it certainly is not; and as he mentions no other source of information, it may be presumed that he had none beyond his own invention and some floating local traditions which he was the first to reduce into a connected series. A striking illustration of the essentially modern character of orthodox Hinduism, despite its persistent claim to rigid inflexibility and immemorial prescription.

* The precise date, Sambat 1800, or 1743 A. D., is given in the following line—'Sambat subh purán sat gáno;' सम्मत शुभ पुराण शत जातो.



An Introduction to the Mundáří Language.—By BABU RAKHAL DAS HALDAR, M. A. S., *Special Commissioner under the Chota-Nagpore Land Tenure's Act.*

The Mundáří is a dialect of the language which was at one time universally spoken by the aboriginal inhabitants* of the plains of Bengal, but has since been superseded by the language of the Hindús, when the latter occupied the country centuries ago. That aboriginal tongue is now to be met with in the western highlands comprising Bírbbhúm, Mánbbhúm, Singbbhúm, the Chutiá Nágpúr territories, and some parts of Central India, and is in its various forms known as Santálí, Ho, Mundáří, Korwá, Kuri, &c.; and traces of it may be found in the dialects of some hill peoples in Nepal, Bhútan, Asám, and Burma. In the modern Bengali, also, some aboriginal words may still be detected. The great dialectical differences in the old language had doubtless arisen from the fact that it was only spoken, and never written, by a primitive people spread over an extensive area of country, a people whose mutual communications could not have been of a frequent nature. What the original name of the language was, is uncertain. The name 'Mundáří'† is applied to the dialect used by a considerable portion of the inhabitants of the Chutiá-Nágpúr plateau.

The Mundáří people being extremely deficient in abstract ideas, have freely drawn terms from the Hindí. Some words‡ have evidently been adopted in recent times, though it is remarkable that some Sanscrit words in their primitive forms are also to be met with in the Mundáří.

It is not without much diffidence that I submit the following Vocabulary for publication in the Asiatic Society's Journal. It is a first attempt, and as such cannot, I fear, be faultless. If opportunity permit, I shall be able to collect the various forms of the same words current in different parts of the country, and also to

* Very probably a branch of Prichard's *Túránian* race, called by Latham 'Mongolidae.' The remarkable characteristic of the *Túránian* languages, noticed by Max Müller, occurs in the Mundáří, viz. the root is never obscured.

† 'Horo' is the name applied by the Mundás to their own race and dialect.

‡ Take, for instance, 'Jáhir, or Jaer Buđi,' applied to the tutelary goddess of a village, called in real Mundáří, 'Luṭkum Buđi,' 'Jáhir or Jaer' seems to be derived from *جَاهِر* manifest.

supply a collection of dialogues, and tales, besides outlines of a Mundárá grammar.

The final *d*, *g*, and *j*, in Italics, used in the following Vocabulary are silent. I is equivalent to Sanscrit इ. The comma placed above the line after a vowel denotes the half of that vowel sound. The words in Bengali within parentheses are supposed to be common derivatives with the Mundárá from an aboriginal language. Words with (S) affixed are directly traceable to Sanskrit, and those with an (H) are adopted from the modern Hindús, whether such words be of Hindi, Persian, or Arabic origin. I have to add that the words in Italics are provincial variations, or synonyms.

(I.) VOCABULARY, English and Mundárá.

A	Army, phaud (II).
Air, hofo.	Art, bádui. (H ?).
Afternoon, tara-singi.	Answer, káji-ruará.
Arm, supu.	Ashes, toroj, <i>toroi</i> .
Armpit, guti'.	Axe, háko.
Ant, muiñ.	Anus, ijundu.
Adze, kislá, <i>basilá</i> .	Alone, eskar.
Arrow, sar (S), <i>múil</i> .	Angry, khis-há.
Antelope, bádu.	Awake, eon.
Amphisbœna, sunum-bing.	Avoid, báge.
Ass, gadhá (S).	Ascend, rakab.
Aunt, hátom, káki (H), mausi (S).	Advance, áar-te-sen.
Abdomen, lá'i.	Ask, kuli.
Advice, mantar (S'), <i>rojot</i> .	Admit, bolo riká.
Affection, pirit (S).	Acid, jojo.
Affray, rupu', <i>dápal</i> , <i>optá</i> .	All, soben (S).
Age, umar (H).	Able, dhári (धरि), <i>dirí</i> .
Agreement, mi'dgathá.	Ashamed, giu.
Aid, dengá,	Arise, birid.
Alarm, boro.	Arrive, seter, <i>tebá</i> .
Ale, ílí, <i>hándiá</i> (H.)	Argue, opegir, <i>epráng</i> .
Alley, horá.	After, táyomte.
Agent, badlá (H).	Again, ádo (आद), <i>odo</i> .
Anger, khis (H ?).	Always, nit (S), <i>jamao</i> .

Among, talámalá, *taláre*.

And, ádo (आदो), *oḍo*.

Alas, háire ! oh !

B

Back, doíá, *deh*.

Bag, moṭá (मोट), *thailá*.

Bail, jámin (जमिन).

Bait, chára (चारा).

Balance, tulá (S).

Bar, huṛká (बड़का).

Barber, náuá (H).

Bark, hartá', baklá (S).

Barrier, ṭenokad, *kesed*.

Base, subá.

Bat, bhádur (H), hápu.

Battle, laṛái (H).

Bear, buḍi, bir-miṇḍi, *báná*.

Beard, guchu.

Beast, pasu (S).

Bod, bil.

Bee, hurum suku.

Beggar, koe.

Benefit, naphá (H).

Bird, oṛo, *cheñreñ*.

Beginning, enete, *eṭe*.

Birth, undub, janam (S).

Blood, maíom.

Boar. bir sukri.

Bribe, ghus (H).

Breast, kuṛám.

Breakfast, kalwá, *sídá-jom*.

Breath, saíad.

Breach, ḍiká.

Bride, kuṛi.

Bridegroom, koṛá.

Brother, hágá.

Brow, mo'ḍkáṇḍom.

Bud, moo.

Buffaloe, keḍá.

Building, pakká oṛá.

Burden, bárom (S).

Business, kámi (S).

Butter, gotom (S).

Butterfly, pamplád.

Branch, koto.

Barley, jao (S), *nili*.

Bridge, pul (H).

Brick, iṭá (H).

Book, kitáb (H).

Broad, *lád*, holong.

Basket, ṭunki, baugi, ṭupá.

Bush, patrá (S).

Bow, á'sar (S).

Blow, ghusá (H) *thugri*.

Burglary, bogoj.

Bachelor, ḍinḍá.

Blacksmith, baḍai.

Backbone, sinduri-jáng.

Belly, lái.

Bowels, joroi poṭá, dánápoṭá.

Blind, andhá (S).

Badger, usá báná."

Bellows, chápuá.

Battle-axe, kápi.

Bracelet, sákom.

Credit, patiár (S).	Cocoanut, nariar (H).
Crest, don-chorod.	Cocoon, lumang.
Crop, barkati.	Cock, sím.
Crow, káu.	Claws, rumpá.
Calprit, dokhi (S).	Cut, nuá', had, ir.
Cultivator, kisan (S).	Come, hiju.
Cup, ñakná.	Call, keřái, hákáo (H).
Custom, rít (S).	Care, khabargiri (H).
Child, hon.	Catch, sabe.
Cucumber, tařar.	Cavil, řařháó (H).
Copper, tambá (S).	Carry, sabidi.
Cow, gau. (S).	Chorish, ásul.
Chin, kiwá.	Cheat, bedáo.
Court, kurti.	Climb, doiř.
Cotton, tulam, ká'som (S).	Cost, gonong.
Corner, kochá.	Covet, lobai (S).
Cloud, rimil.	Conceal, ukui.
Corpse, goiř-morod.	Copulate, jokoi (S).
Chalk, kharihasá.	Correct, bairuáře.
Candle, saritá (সন্দিতা).	Count, lekái.
Current, dhára (S).	Cry, rá.
Cowherd, máhrá.	Collect, hunři.
Clay, háśá.	Crouch, oboráun.
Cubit, muká.	Conquer, řitáo (S).
Cholera, obá.	Choose, pasand (H).
Creeper, náni.	Cover, hárub.
Chisel, ruká.	Cook, mánři.
Crowbar, sabar (সাবল).	Cold, rabáng.
Conch, sakwá (S).	tutkun.
Courtyard, ráchá.	reár.
Cormorant, dá'kau.	Cough, khakhár.
Crocodile, tařan.	Clean, pharchi (H).
Chamelion, rakař kambad.	Cool, tutkun.
Cophia, pogá řára.	Cheap, sastá (H).
Crab, kát kom.	Clever, chatur (S).
Cricket, tete.	Coarse, moř (H).
Caterpillar, jepenđer.	Crooked, řerhá (H).

Crooked, benká (S).

Certain, ʔhik (H).

Clear, pharchi (H).

D

Dance, susun.

Date, din (S).

Dawn, setá'.

Day, singi.

Death, gogoiʔ

Debt, riní (S'),

Descendant, náti nutkur.

Defeat, háráo (H).

Delay, bilam (S).

Destiny, kapár (S).

Devil, bongá.

Diarrhoea, láijdul.

Dirt, humu.

Disease, hásu.

Dish, thári (ʔʔnʔ).

Distance, sáŋging.

Dread, boro.

Dress, lijá.

Dove, putam.

Dust, duʔi (S).

Dew, sisir-dá'.

Daughter, bui, kuʔi-hon.

Dog, setá.

Deer, jil.

Duck, geʔe.

Deceit, phusláo (H).

Darkness, nubá'.

Dream, kumu.

Danger, ʔluku.

Daughter-in-law, kimin.

Diviner, ʔeonrá.

Dinner, ʔundu.

Dysentery, sul (H).

Drum, ʔhák (S).

ḡhol (ḡʔʔnʔ).

Door, duár (S).

Dung, iʔ.

Drink, nu.

Destroy, násáo (S).

Deny, kámánáting. •

Descend, árgun.

Dig, ur.

Dive, dubuʔ (ḡḡnʔ).

Dry, roʔ.

Drive, har.

Die, goiʔ.

Dwell, táino'.

Do, riká.

Draw, tháui.

Drown, dubuʔ.

Dear, dulaʔ (ḡḡnʔ).

Double, bársá.

Dry, roʔ.

Dirty, humu, kúloár.

Decrease, ghaʔáo (H).

Deep, ikir.

Dwarf, náʔoá (H) báuná (S).

E

Earth, ote.

Eagle, besrá.

Ear, lutur.

Ease, ruʔu.

East, singi-rakab.

Echo, koʔáng.

Eclipse, gahan (S).

Edge, giná (kinár, H ?).

Efficacy, naphá (H).

Egg, billi, járom.

Elbow, ʔká'.

Elephant, háti (S).	Five, moŋeá.
Employment, kámi.	Forty, bár-hisi.
Enclosure, gherá (H).	Fifty, bár-hisi-gelná.
End, ɬundu.	Foreigner, eɬádisun-rinig.
Evening, áiub.	Face, me'd muaná.
Eight, iraliá.	Forehead, molong.
Eighty, upún-hisi.	Fan, panká (H).
Eye, me'd.	Father-in-law, honjar.
Eye-ball, rajá.	Fatigue, thakáo (H).
Eye-brows, me'd-kádom.	Fault, dokh (S).
Eye-lashes, pipni.	Fawn, jilu-hon.
Entrails, poɬá.	Fear, boro.
Earring, kanausi (H).	Feather, áprop.
Eaves, chandaí.	Female, koři.
Elovon, gel-miaɖ.	Festival, parab (S).
Eat, jojom.	Fever, ulá, ruá, urui.
Embraco, hámbud.	Fight, hopoing.
Emit, ulái	Figure, murut (S).
Ever, nit (S).	Fine, ɖánde (S).
Everywhere, saben ɬháon (H).	Finger, sarsar.
Easily, álgeto (H).	Flag, jhándá (H).
Except, báge.	Flavor, šibil.
Each, mutid.	Fume, sukul.
Easy, rabal.	Flesh, jilu.
Empty, samá.	Foot, kaɬá, talká-kaɬá.
Expel, oɖong.	Forefathers, purkhá (S).
Erase, meɬáo (H).	Fox, khaikhai.
Enter, bolo.	Friend, gáti.
Epilepsy, hánám-gonoij.	Frog, choke.
F	Fruit, jo.
Father, ápu, ábá.	Fun, tamásá (H).
Fire, sengel.	Furniture, chiz-bastu (H).
Frost, ratang dá.'	Flower, baha, bá.
Fish, háku.	Flour, holong.
Farm-house, usam-orá.	Fraud, bedá.
Field, loiang.	Family, hon-hopon.
Four, upunia.	Fist, chipuɖ.

Fly, roko.	Forest, bir, ṭonáng.
Fœces, ij.	Flute, rutu.
Flatus, gási.	Frighten, botong.
Filo, retá (H).	Flat, chopped (ṭṣṭṭṭ).
Fiddle, banam.	Freeze, sakid.
Fall, uiu.	G
Feel, átkar.	Gain, napha (H).
Feed, ájumi.	Game, inung.
Fell, gingrauri.	Gesture, hiláo (H).
Fight, mápá.	Ginger, áde (S).
Finish, chaba.	Girl, kori (kori, Punjābi).
Fish, v. hákugoj.	Gold, sámrom (S ?).
Fling, hudmá.	Goose, haúsá (S).
Flow, lingi.	Grandfather, tatá (S).
Follow, tárom.	náná, ajá (H).
Forget, riringe.	Grandmother, aji.
Forsake, bági.	Grandson, jáing korá.
Fair, esel.	Granddaughter, juing kori.
Fierce, borogi sanang.	Grave, masná (S).
Foolish, koká'.	Groan, girang.
koko.	Gruel, ṭonḍá.
ḍonḍo.	Ground, ṭháon (S).
Florikan, kongoto-mará.	Guilt, dokh (S).
Flea, pichu.	Grass, tasad.
Falcon, besre.	Gram, dáná (H).
Formerly, sidáre.	Goat, merom.
For, lágim (ṭṭṭṭ).	Grain, dáli (S).
From, te.	Guest, perá, kupul.
First, áiar.	Gale, horlási.
Former, munu.	Granary, poṭom.
Fat, kiri.	Gum, dāṇṭá-subá.
False, jhuṭ (H).	Gall, isiár.
Frightened, borobhináo.	God, márang bongá.
Full, pheréj.	Great, márang.
Find, ne'l, náman.	Good, bugin.
Fly, ápir.	Glad, khusi-tani.
Fasten, tol.	Greedy, lobhini.

Green, hariar (H).
 Generous, emo'nij.
 Gentle, thir (S).
 Gross, dildil.
 Grasshopper, sonsoroig.
 Gently, mánite.
 Go, sen.
 Go before, áäroan.
 Go behind, táiomte sen.
 Go in, bolo.
 Go out, oðongo'.
 Go up, rakab.
 Givo, om.
 Gargle, poje, puij.
 Gather, hundi.
 Get, náman.
 Gore, hotá.
 Grasp, hámuð.
 Grieve, heátíng.
 Gamble, juá onej.
 Grow, hárá.

H

Hag, nájom (H).
 Hail, áril.
 Hair, u'b.
 Hand, ti'.
 Hatchet, kondáing, háke.
 *Hearth, chulá (H).
 Heat, lolo, situm.
 Hedge, bakri.
 Heel, idi.
 Hell, narak (S).
 Heaven, sarag (S).
 Help, dengá.
 Hemp, jipiñ.
 Hen, sím.
 Head, bo'.

Health, jiu-suku (S).
 Herd, goth (S).
 Hero, herel.
 Hint, chundul, gáwíj.
 Hive, chhatná.
 Hog, sukri (S).
 Home, orá.
 Hoc, kuði, ku'dlam.
 Homage, marjád (S).
 Honey, hurumsuku rasi.
 Hope, bharosá (H).
 Hook, banká'.
 Horn, diríng.
 Horse, sádom.
 House, orá.
 Hunt, sangar (S?).
 Hurt, tod.
 Hyena, hundár.
 Husband, herel.
 Height, salángi.
 Heap, ðipá (fðð).
 kudhá.

Hunger, rengej.
 Hoof, khur (S).
 Hill, buru (buru, Páli).
 Hillock, guðu.
 Hundred, mono-hisi.
 mi'd saí.
 Half, talá.
 Hip, ðikká.
 Heart, ihm.
 Hare, kulái.
 Hammer, kotási.
 Hackery, sagri (S).
 Hoar, árum.
 Hang, háká.
 Hang, páse (S).

Hail, hákáo (H).

Harm, jiáne (H).

Hate, hilang.

Heap, kudhá.

Hit, tuing.

Hide, v. uku.

Hold, sab.

Howl, hákáo.

Hunt, sangar.

Hurt, gáo.

Hush, hápá.

High, šalángi.

Hard, keŕeij.

Hungry, reŕgeij-taniŕ.

Heavy, hambal.

Happy, suku (S).

Honey-sucker, uŕig.

Hero, netá'.

Hogplum, ambŕu (S).

He, ini', ni'.

Hornbill, doŕŕso (ਖਾਨੇਖਾ)

I

I, ing, áing.

Idea, matlab (H).

Idol, murat (S).

Iron, meŕŕend.

Ivory, háti-jáng.

Insect, tiju.

Itch, gotá'.

Ichneumon, neurá (S).

Ill, iŕkaná.

Increase, hárá.

Irritate, khis-riká.

Issue, oŕong.

Inside, bitár (ਭਿਤਰ).

If, agarchi (H).

J

Jackal, tuiu.

Jar, chátu.

Jaw, joá.

Jealousy, khis.

Jest, ŕhatthá (H).

Joint, jonoráo.

Joy, khusi (H).

Judgment, bichár (S).

Juice, rasi (S).

Justice, dharam (S).

Just, ŕhik (H).

Join, joŕáo (H).

Jump, kuŕil.

K

Key, kunji (H).

Kid, merom-hon.

Kite, kuŕid.

Kitchen, máŕŕi-orá.

Kiss, chumá (S).

Knife, kátu.

Knave, oigkan-horo.

Knee, mukunji.

Kill, goij.

Know, sári.

Kick, phadá.

Keep, do.

Kestrel, suklái.

Kingfisher, kikkir.

L

Labor, mehnat (H).

Lac, e.

Lamp, diá (S).

Land, oŕe.

Leprosy, ŕuntá (ਲੁਣੀ), rogo (S).

Life, ji (S).

Light, marsal (ਸਾਜ ?).

Limit, simán (S).

Line, dindi.

Lip, lácho.

Love, dulaṛ.

Luck, kapár (S).

Leaf, sákám.

Leg, kaṭá.

Length, jilling.

Lie, hosor.

Lock, tálá (H).

Load, hambal.

Lizard, gachain.

Lighting, hichir.

Loins, máiang.

Lungs, borkod.

Liver, suruḍ.

Lame, langrá (H).

Leopard, son-chitá-kulá.

Low, latar.

Long, jilling.

Little, huring.

Last, taïam.

Leprous, tuntuá.

Lazy, landiá.

Light, rabal.

Loose, chhuṭá (H).

Left, lengá (लङ्ग).

Large, mārāng.

Loud, isu-sáḍiá.

Lose, ad.

Live, jiḍ (S).

Leave, báge.

Laugh, landá.

Learn, itun.

Lift, rim.

Leap, kuṭil.

Lag, doiá.

Lash, chábukte-haṅrsái.

Last, tain.

Lament, heáting.

Lead, idi.

Lie, jhuṅtká (H).

Light, salgáo (H).

Like, pasandi (H).

Lime, áṭá.

Load, ládi (H).

Line, páñti (S).

Loose, rárá.

Lose, háráo (H).

Lurk, uguru-kun.

Louse, siku.

Leech, happaḍ.

M

Male, herel.

Mango, uli.

Man, hoṛo.

Marriage, aṛandi.

Master, gomke.

Mat, páṭi, (H).

jáṭi.

Means, upái (S).

Measure, song.

Medicine, ránu.

Mercy, daíá (S).

Merit, gun (S).

Milk, toá (S ?).

Mill, jañtá (S).

Mind, mone (S).

Mine, gaḍá (S).

Mine, iñgiáñ.

Miser, súm.

Misery, duku (S).

Mob, jamá hoṛo.

Money, ṭaká (S).

Moon, cháñdu (S).
 Mother, engá, ummá.
 Murder, goij.
 Mouse, chuṭu, huni, kátoá.
 Mountain, buru.
 Mist, kwás (कुआस).
 Month, cháñdu.
 Morning, setá'.
 Middy, tikiñ.
 Mouth, mochá.
 Market, piṭhi.
 Mustard, máni.
 Manservant, dási (S).
 Maidservant, kámiñi-kuṛi.
 Mud, losod, jubhi.
 Meat, jilu.
 Moonlight, tetig.
 Midnight, talá nidá.
 Mustachos, guchu.
 Musk rat, chunḍu.
 Monkey, gáři.
 Many, timbá.
 Mad, bálu.
 Middle, talá.
 Much, isu.
 Memina, iár.
 Mygale, kulábindram.
 Musquito, sikñi.
 Mule, khachar (S).
 Mount, doi.
 Meet, nápam, bhoñṭ (H).
 Melt, ser.
 Move, sen.
 Make, báí.
 Merry, árandi.
 Measure, song, moká.
 Mend, tuná.

Mind, monredoi.
 Miscarry, enḍí-ad.
 káchá duku
 Miss, kánámi.
 Mix, misái (S).
 N
 Nail, ramá.
 Name, nutum.
 Neck, serom, tutká.
 Nest, tuká.
 Net, jalom, (S).
 Night, nidá (S).
 Noise, káuri.
 Nose, muñ.
 North, bo'jamar.
 Nourishment, ásul.
 Nurse, nununij.
 Nephew, hon-sered.
 Nieco, hon-sered-kuṛi.
 Needle, sui (S).
 Nine, ároí.
 Ninety, upun-hisi-gelua.
 Namesako, saki (S).
 Nostrils, muñ-unḍu.
 Navol, buṭi.
 Nail, mereñḍ kinilum.
 Nose-ring, not (न९).
 New, nawá (S).
 Naked, langṭá (H).
 Narrow, sákuṛ.
 Name, metá.
 Now, ná'.
 Never, chiuláoká.
 Nowhere, jetáre bánwa.
 No, ká, álom.
 Not, álom, bánwá.
 bánogi.

None, bankwá.

Near, narəj.

O

Obstacle, rokáo (II).

Odor, soán.

Offence, dokh (S).

gunhá (II).

Office, kámi.

Onion, peáj (H).

Oppression, duku-cm.

Order, hukum (H).

Origin, enetəj.

Ox, urij.

Oil, sunum.

Oath, kiriá (S).

One, miad.

Old, purná (S).

Open, oťá.

Offer, om.

Or, chi.

Oriole, bocho.

P

Pain, duku (S), hásu.

Part, hisa (II).

People, hořo.

Person, hořmo.

Petition, nalisi (H).

Physician, baid (S).

Pigeon, dudmul.

Place, thaon̄ (S).

jaga (H).

Plant, gachi (S).

Play, inung.

Plough, har (S).

nařal.

Plume, aprob.

Plunder, rej.

Point, ochchol.

Poison, mahurá.

bisi (S).

Post, khun̄tu (𑖦𑖧𑖨𑖩).

Power, perej.

Priest, pahan̄ra (S).

Prostituto, khildi.

Proof, thauka.

Pride, moťhai.

Pulse, nári (S).

Pumpkin, soñd-suku.

Pearl, moti (S).

Price, gonong.

Pit, gađa (S).

Plains, piri.

Potter, kumbar (S).

Penis, loe.

Pudendum, ruji.

Pus, sondro.

Panthor, duhur kulá.

Poreupino, jiki.

Pteropus, hápa.

Pangolin, armu.

Pickaxe, gaiñtá.

Pincers, sándsom (S).

Panpipe, pereřon̄d.

Path, horá.

Pond, đunku.

Parrot, keád.

Putrid, soiá.

Poor, regeij.

garib (H).

Purse, thailá.

Put on, uřun.

Put off, hutmá enđá.

Pepper, marichi (S).

Place, do.

Pass, sen-koṭong.

Plunge, dubuj.

Pour, dul.

Push, ghusáo (H).

Passionate, khishá, oñrân.

Pointed, o'chol, gojá (ꠘꠗꠘ).

Pretty, bugin.

Plentiful, purá (S), perig.

Peep, hotá.

Pierce, bolo.

Plant, roi (S).

Point at, chundul.

Praise, bugin metá.

Pray, dárang.

Pull, thauj.

Pursue, hári.

Put, do.

Passive, sáting.

Peacock, mara (S).

Python, tunil.

Perhaps, honáng.

Q

Quarrel, epegir, *epuráng*.

Question, kuli.

Quiver, tongá.

Quick, usráo.

Quail, battá.

Quench, eṛeñj.

R

Rain, gama'.

Remedy, ránu.

Respect, khátir (H).

Rice, cháñli (ꠘꠗꠘ), bábi.

Right, hak (H).

Ring, mudam.

Riot, epegir-gopeij.

Road, horá.

Robber, kumru.

Rock, siring.

Row, páñti (S).

River, gaḍá (S).

nai' (S).

Rains, járgi.

Roof, chátom (S).

Relation, natá.

Rust, humu.

Rivulet, ḍoḍá.

Rafter, seneor.

Ravine, huáng.

Root, re'd,

Ratol, usábána.

Rise, birid.

Road, paṛháó (S).

Roast, rapá'.

Run, nir.

Reap, háuráu.

Reckon, loká.

Recollect, pháom (H).

Return, ruár.

Rapel, pharkai.

Retire, ruṛu.

Ride, dey.

Rub, itikid.

Ruins, purná-khandháí.

Ramble, honor.

Reach, tobá.

Repeat, káji-ruáro.

Recognize, no'l rumo.

Relate, jagar.

Remember, pháom (H).

Reside, tain.

Ridicule, landábái.

Rip, changár, oṛej.

Roar, rá.

Raiso, rim.
 Ready, teár (II).
 Right, jom.
 Ripe, jaroma'.
 Raw, berelá'.
 Ragged, kupinákaniy.
 Rough, khas khasá.
 Round, guli (S).
 Red, aru'.
 Rabid, hálu.
 Repeatedly, gharighari (II).

S

Sale, ákhring.
 Salt, bulung.
 Sand, gitil.
 Saw, háko.
 Sea, sanundar (S).
 Service, kámi.
 Sheet, lijá.
 Ship, jaháj (II).
 Shoe, jutá (II).
 Shrine, sarná (H).
 Side, ti.
 Sight, no'l.
 Silk, lumáng.
 Sin, páp (S).
 Sister, dáí.
 Skill, erágo kámiá.
 Skin, ur, hartá.
 Sky, sermá.
 Slave, kiring kiáí.
 Sleep, gitijanaí.
 durumjanaí.
 Smoke, sukul.
 Snake, bing.
 Snare, bále baitadá.
 Society, sangi-horo.

Song, duráng.
 Speech, jagar.
 Spice, masálá (H).
 Spirit, bongá.
 Spite, hisingá (S).
 Spittle, be'dá'.
 Spot, daghá (II).
 Storm, horlási.
 Story, kaháni (II).
 Straw, busu, sauri.
 Strength, perej.
 Substitute, badlá (H).
 Sugar, guř (S).
 Sun, sing-bongá.
 Star, ipil.
 Son, korá-hon, bába, boio.
 Summer, situm sáhá.
 Stone, diri.
 Silver, rupá (S).
 Sheep, mindi (S).
 Shoulder, táran.
 Sound, sáđi (S ?).
 Seed, hitá.
 Shadow, umbul.
 Stick, sořá (ꠘꠞꠞꠞ).
 đándá (S).
 South, kařámar.
 Shop, dokán (II).
 Sugarcane, kasear.
 Sorrow, duku (S).
 Spider, bindram.
 Species, jati (S).
 Scale, tulá (S).
 Shield, đhál (H).
 Sting, sár.
 Scorpion, kářkom-marman.
 Steel, ispát (H).

Sweat, balbal.	Spit, be'j.
Spasm, ruing.	Sell, ákring.
Son-in-law, áram.	Show, udub.
Spinster, dindá.	Send, kul.*
Spring, puṭi, seteng.	Strain, chhanáo (H).
Soil, ote.	Seek, nam.
Six, turiá.	Sow, her.
Seven, eá.	Stand, tingu.
Seventeen, gel-eá.	Sieze, sab.
Sixty, ápi-hisi.	Shut, hándeḍ.
Seventy, ápi-hisi-gelná.	Say, káji, men.
Sixteen, gel-turia.	Sacrifice, bongá.
Spirit, arki (H).	Salute, joár (जोहार).
Semen, punḍi duki.	Save, bacháo (H).
Stomach, pacháoenuá.	Scare, bororiká.
Spleen, dirdir.	Scold, oger, gonde.
Sinews, tingpaṭṭá.	Scratch, gota.
Smallpox, mári.	Scream, chichíáo.
Stuttering, ṭoṭra (टोटरा).	Sew, tukuji.
Shivering, eklá, rúm.	Shako, híláo (S).
Squirrel, tuṛu.	Shame, giu.
String, sutam (S).	Spine, jilimili.
Shovel, kullam.	Shoot, ritá, poṭeḍ.
Spear, barchhá (H).	Shove, udur.
Stool, gaṇḍu.	Sign, chiná (S).
Sit, du'b.	Silence, hapáchiká.
Strike, ru, dádal.	Slander, chirái.
Sleep, duṛum.	Smile, landá.
Swim, oíár, párom (S).	Snatch, repeij.
See, ne'l.	Snore, huṭir.
Smell, sunkuḍ (सुंठ), ji.	Soil, humu.
Speak, káji.	Sound, ikirtabrup.
Sing, dureng.	Skin, poṭá.
Stick, lagao (H).	Spoil, bagráo (H).
Swell, mo.	Square, upun konási.
Sweep, jo'.	Stoal, kumṛu.
Suckle, nunu.	Stop, thamáo (H).

Suspect, ádá uđugo.
 Swear, kırıájom.
 Sound, sádi.
 Stink, eigkan soán.
 Suck, nunui.
 Small, huring.
 Sweet, herémá.
 Stupid, dondo.
 Straight, soj (सो).
 Square, upunkochá.
 Sharp, loser.
 Slippery, boror.
 Sad, duku-tanig.
 Salt, khár (S).
 Short, dunguij.
 Shallow, tomej.
 Sick, hásu.
 Slow, landiá.
 Smooth, chikan (S).
 Spotted, kabrá.
 Striped, onol.
 Strong, peřejanig.
 Slender, nán.
 Swallow, geroá.
 Snipe, kod battá.
 Scolopendra, sengel marmar.
 Sometimes, jáimntá.
 Straightly, soj.
 Shepherd, morom-gupini.
 Sister, nana, misim.

T

Tale, kaháni (काहिनी).
 Talent, buđui.
 Talk, kupáji.
 Tank, pukhri (S).
 Temple, math (S).

Thief, kumbru.
 Thirst, tetang.
 Thing, chiz (H).
 Thought, chintá (S).
 Thorn, jánum.
 Thunder, țher.
 Tobacco, támku (H).
 Toil, mehnat (H).
 Trade, pheroái (H).
 Trouble, duku (S).
 Truth, sártigi (S?).
 Tune, rág (S).
 Turncoat, phasiár.
 Tree, dárú (S).
 darkhat (H).
 Tooth, dátá.
 Tongue, áláng.
 Thigh, bulu.
 Time, samaí (S).
 Throat, țotná, hoțo.
 Tail, chá'lom.
 Toe, sarsar, dáro.
 Thread, sutam (S).
 Taste, sibil.
 Tiger, kulá.
 Two, báriá.
 Three, ápiá.
 Ten, golná.
 Twelve, gol-bariá.
 Twenty, hisi
 Thirty, hisi golná.
 Thirty-one, hisi gol miad.
 Thousand, gel sai.
 Thumb, ongá-dáro.
 Testes, billi.
 Thou, ám.
 Thoy, inku.

Rhine, áamá.
 Theirs, inkuá.
 Tiger-cat, bándó.
 Thong, nángli.
 Toe, mig, polá.
 Thatch, sárpmi.
 Tortoise, horo.
 Toad, roto choke.
 Tongue, áláng.
 Toke, áu.
 Touch, juṭiḍ.
 Toe, tol.
 Think, bhábná (S).
 Taste, cháká (𑖑𑖩𑖫).
 Teach, sikháo (S).
 Throw, hurang-enḍá.
 Tickle, gote gote.
 Throttle, ling goiki.
 Transplant, roe (S).
 Turn, ruár.
 Fear, orej.
 Thirsty, telangnig.
 Thin, etang.
 Tight, saktáo (S).
 Tall, sálángi.
 Thick, ibil,
 moṭá (H).
 To-day, tising.
 To-morrow, gápá.
 Then, imtá; ento.
 There, entá'.
 Thus, ne'lká.
 Together, mi'ḍ jama.
 Truly, sártigi.
 Twice, bársá.
 Thrice, ápisá.
 To, to.

U .

Ulcer, gáo (H).
 Umpire, miláonig.
 Unclo, káká (𑖑𑖩𑖫).
 Understanding, bud (S).
 Union, mel (S).
 Universe, jagat (S).
 Usage, rit (S).
 Urine, dukidá'.
 Uproot, tu'ḍ.
 Unbind, rapá.
 Ugly, kábuginá'.
 Upper, chetan.
 Under, latar.
 Uniformly, mi'ḍandáz.

V

Valley, burutalá.
 Village, hátu.
 Vein, paṭṭá.
 Vulture, gidi (S).
 Vetch, baturá.
 Vomit, úlá.
 Vex, dikdikáo.
 Very, isu.
 Valour, perej.
 Vapour, bháp (S).
 Venom, bisi (S).
 Vest, lijá.
 Vice, páp (S).
 Victory, jitáo (S).
 Victuals, jojomá'.
 Victim, tengen.

W

Wages, nalá.
 Wall, bhit (S).
 War, larái (H).
 mápátupuing.

Washorman, *dhobi* (H).Watch, *horonig*.Water, *dá'*.Way, *horá*.Widow, *rándi* (S).Wife, *erá*, *kuri*.Will, *moñe* (S).Winter, *rabáng sáhá*.Wit, *bud* (S).Woman, *kuri*.Wonder, *tájab'* (H).Wind, *hoio*.Wheat, *gohum* (S).Wood, *sahan*.Width, *chakar*.Well, *kuán* (S) *su'd*, *dádi*.West, *singi áiub*.Worm, *tijü*.Whore, *khilri*.Wager, *báid*, (বাইড).Wax, *mom* (মোম).Wing, *úprob*.Wire, *tár* (H).Wool, *u'b*.Waterfall, *sárgidá'*.Weaver, *ponái*.Work, *kámi* (S).Whiskers, *guchu*.Wrist, *ti'*.White-ant, *nidir*.Walk, *sesin*, *honor*.Wake, *ehn*, *ono*.Weak, *usukanij*.Well, *bes* (H).White, *pundi*.Wet, *lúm*.Weave, *tiñio*.Weigh, *tulá* (S).Wait, *tángi*.Wish, *sanang*.Wash, *ábung*, *chápi*, *itkit*.Wicked, *eigkan*.Wise, *señrá* (সেয়ানা—satan?).Wander, *honorbará*.Want, *ási*.Wear, *botejir*, *eoren*.Weep, *rái*.Win, *jitáo*,Wither, *ror*.Wound, *gaoki*.Woodpecker, *ero*.Water-clock, *dá'uru*.Wasp, *tumli*.Whenever, *chintá*.Where, *kotá'* (S).Where, *jahañre*.Whence, *kotá'te*.When, *chuilá*, *okobetár*.With, *lo'*.Wonderful! *oh!* *eh!*Wo, *ále*.*ábu* (অবু).Whirlwind; *horlási*.Whole, *jetkan*.Wizard, } *nájom* (H).

Witch, }

Wheel, *chák* (S).Wet, *lumo*.Work, *kámi*.

Y

Year, *sermá*.You, *ápe* (আপনি).Young, *seprod*.Yellow, *sasángleká*.

Yawn, cháb.

Yes, háñ.

Yard, ráchá.

Z
Zinc, sisá (S).*(b) Mundāri and English.*

A

Áling, we two.

Ábon, you two.

Arná, the yoko of a plough.

Andu, an ornament for the ankle.

Askal, a double spur-partridge.

B

Birsim, a jungle cock.

Bhuñs, a large rat.

Boḍá, a low field surrounded by
high lands.

Bábá, unhusked rice.

Bokom, younger brother.

Bui, a younger sister.

Bábá-oto, a rice field.

Bándo, a tiger-cat.

Buḍi (S), an old woman.

Básá (S), a temporary dwelling.

Bárdulid (S), a small bat.

Bá-ndá, (S), a small earthen pot.

Báñrsi (बैरसी), a fishing hook.

Báñrsi-dáng, a fishing rod.

Bir-baýár, an Arna.

Buru-kurid, a jungle eagle.

Besrá, a peregrine falcon.

C

Chaurá, a dry field.

Cháṭu, an earthen vessel.

Cháuli, husked rice.

Chaukinig, a watchman.

Chamṭá, a thong to lash
on the yoke.

Chitri, a grey partridge.

D

Dábaer, a large rice field.

Dái, elder sister.

Diku, proprietor or farmer of a
village, applied to Hindás
and Muhammadaus.

Dumbu, a grass jungle.

Dhibuá, half an anna.

Dináki, day by day.

Dabi, shoulder-blade.

Damua, kottledrum.

Door, (दोर), a fishing line.

Dumur-kurid, a spotted eagle.

Dundu, a great horned owl.

ḍur, a durre finch.

E

Enang nidá, the past night.

G

Gomke, master.

Gitiorá, a sleeping house.

Guñu, a hut to watch crops.

Goṭh (S), a cattle pound.

Goṛá, cow house.

Gandá, (गंडा), one anna.

Gaudi, a coss.

Gotom, (S), ghee.

Gondáit, a village sewant.

Gárá kulá, an old tiger.

Guru, a bandikote rat.

H

- Hutup, a boulder.
 Hádám, an old ox.
 Haqá, an old man.
 Hatá' a winnowing fan.
 Huri, vitex negundo.
 Hořmo, the body.
 Hondeng, a great rod squirrel.
 Hisir, a necklace.
 Hápánum, an adult woman.
 Huar, a green pigeon.

I

Ikir-lo'iang, a low and well-yield-
 ing field.

- Inku, they.
 Ikir, a deep pool.
 Ili, rice-beer.
 Idan, very early.

J

- Jubilá, a wet field.
 Jojo, a tamarind tree.
 Junká jilu, calf of the leg.
 Jattáni, wattling branches.

K

- Kolom, a threshing floor.
 Kudá, the Jámun tree.
 Kumbá, a hut.
 Khanđi (H), half a maund.
 Kachiá, a pice.
 Káom, next year.
 Káloin sátoin, some years ago.
 Kondeg, a small hatchet.
 Kátu, a scraping knife.
 Kađi, the shaft of a plough.
 Khunđu, the uprights of a house.
 Kunđam, back of a house.
 Kuhu, a koel.

L

- Lumang-lijá, a silk cloth.
 Lijum, to chew cud.

M

- Máhará, a milkman.
 Mánđi, boiled rice.
 Mahá, the past year.
 Miru, a great parakeet.
 Mainá, a hill martin.

N

- Nim, (S), the neem tree.
 Nálá, a hired labourer.
 Niulá, this year.
 Naial, a plough.
 Not, (न), a nose ring.

O

- Oroig, a four-horned deer.

P

- Piri, upland, plains.
 Patra, a scrub jungle.
 Pati, a seer (weight).
 Pál, the iron point of a plough.
 Perereñđ, panpipes.
 Polá, a toe ring.
 Pařiá, a sari.
 Pustá, a spotted deer.
 Putam, a love.
 Piri-ud a grosbeak.

R

- Ráchá, a courtyard.
 Richi, a chicquera hawk.

S

- Sárjom, a sál tree.
 Sarná (S), a sacred grove.
 Siring, a flat rock.
 Siki, (सिकि), a quarter rupee.
 Serom, nape of the neck.

Suli, secretions from the nose.

Subá, trunk of a tree.

Sará, the Hanuman monkey.

Sogot, civet-cat.

Samrá, a sambar deer.

Samá, pin of the yoke.

Sakwá, a conch shell.

Sákom, a brass bracelet.

Suij, to set on flames.

Silip, a muntjac deer.

Suriám, a pit lark.

T
Taka (टका S?), a rupee.

Terkáloom, the year after next.

Tunṭá (टुंटा), maimed-handed.

Táni, a wild dog.

Toián, an Indian roller.

U

Usam-orá, a farm house.

Udal, the shaft of a hackery.

A History of the Gakk'hars.—By J. G. DELMERICK, Esq.

Whether the Gakk'hars have sprung from the *Grekoi* whom Alexander the Great located in Poṭhwár, and who it is asserted, continued there to reign for several centuries, or are Hindús converted to Muhammadanism, or are, as they themselves declare, the descendants of Persian kings, it is impossible now to speak with certainty.

It is remarkable, however, that the majority of the great tribes of this district are ashamed of confessing that their ancestors were pagans, or *Káfirs*. They therefore invariably trace their genealogy from 'Alí or Bibí Fáṭimah, or some other Muhammadan, or quasi Muhammadan sources. For example the Awáns say that they are descended from Arabs. The Khattars and Budhals declare that they are the descendants of 'Alí and Fáṭimah, ignoring the fact that such descendants are at the present date styled all over the Muhammadan world as Sayyids, Mirs, and Sharífs. The Patháns claim Malik Ṭalút (King Saul) of the tribe of Israel as their great ancestor. The Gakk'hars form no exception to this rule. They state that they are descended from Naushírwán,* whose

* Naushírwán reigned from A. D. 531 to A. D. 579. Sir John Malcolm on the authority of Persian Historians states that this monarch carried his arms into Farghánah on the North and India on the East.

justice and liberality are the theme of many of Sa'di's tales, and who with his Vazir Buzurjmihr, is regarded by most Persian authors as a good Musalmán. The Gakk'hars, moreover, state that they are descended from the Kaianian kings of Persia; that their ancestor, Sultán Ked, son of Kai Gauhar, a Kaianian prince of Ispahán, invaded Tibet with a large army, and having conquered it, he and his descendants reigned in that country. Now it is not improbable that this Sultán Ked is identical with the Ked Ráj of the Muhammadan Historians. Prinsep gives the year 540 u. c. as the commencement of his reign. Firishtah* says that Ked Ráj was the nephew (sister's son) of Maháráj of Amber, a contemporary of Gushtásp. On his death-bed Maháráj made Ked Ráj his heir. Rustam Dista, the Persian governor of the ceded Indian provinces being dead, Ked Ráj attacked and wrested from his descendants the Panjáb. Having dwelt for some time at Bherah, which was a town of very great antiquity, he built the fortress of Jammú, in which he left as governor one of his own relations, named Durk, of the Gakk'har tribe, and this tribe has continued in possession of that place up to the present time. Subsequently the Gakk'hars and Chobia (Chibs), the most ancient zamíndárs of the Panjáb, having contracted an alliance with the people of the plains, and of the hills between Kábul and Qandahár, marched against Ked Ráj, who having been vanquished fled from the Panjáb. Ked Ráj reigned for 43 years.

We likewise know from Herodotus that at this early period, *viz.* in the beginning of the 5th century before Christ, the Panjáb formed a dependency of the Persian empire, the Indian satrapy contributing the largest share of revenue to the government of Darius, the son of Hystaspes, of the Kaianian dynasty; and that within this satrapy was situated the city of Kaspatyrus, from which place Skylax commenced his voyage to ascertain where the Indus met the ocean. Kaspatyrus is the Kaspeira of Ptolemy, or Kasyapapura of Abú Raihán, the ancient name of Multán.

The Kaianians were succeeded by the Sassanians, and we have ample proofs from historical sources and from coins that the Panjáb was at various periods governed, and no doubt colonized,

* Firishtah, page 16, vol. 1, Bombay Edition.

by the Persian monarchs of the Sassanian race. According to Firishtah, whose statement has been verified by Numismatists, Bahrám Gor, or Veranes V., of Persia, visited India, and espoused the daughter of Vású Deva, the king of Qaanauj. It is not at all unlikely, therefore, that the Gakk'hars are right, and that they are a remnant of the ancient Persian stock; for it is also related by the same author that so late as the 11th century after Christ, Ibráhim Ghaznawí met with a town in the Panjáb, called Dera, the inhabitants of which came originally from Khurásán, and were banished thither with their families by Afrásiáb of the Peshdáfi dynasty for frequent rebellions. Here they formed themselves into a small independent state, and being cut off from intercourse with their neighbours by a belt of mountains nearly impassable, had preserved their ancient customs and rites by not intermarrying with any other people.*

After continuing in Tibet for ten generations, the Gakk'hars under Sultán Kab, are said to have invaded Kashmír, and having defeated Manohar, the Vazír of the Rájah of Kashmír, who was sent to oppose their advance, they took possession of half the country, and ruled in Kashmír for 16½ generations. This may or may not be true. Certainly the Ráj Taranginí, which is a history of Kashmír of the Hindú period, makes no mention of the conquest of Kashmír by the Gakk'hars.

Be this, however, as it may, the Gakk'hars assert that they dwelt in Kashmír during sixteen generations, or until the reign of Zain Khán or Kábul Sháh, who owing to an insurrection in his kingdom fled from Kashmír, and took service with Nágiruddín Sabaktigín who was then reigning at Ghazní, and that Gakk'har Sháh, the son of Kábul Sháh, came to India with Mahmúd of Ghazní, who conferred upon him the sovereignty of the Sind Sagar Duáb. This must have been in A. D. 1008, when we read of the Gakk'hars as idolators, and as important chiefs and staunch allies

* Firishtah, page 83, vol. 1, Bombay Edition.

† 1. Ked. 2. Tibbat. 3. Jannat. 4. Shujar. 5. Madarak. 6. Bahrámmand. 7. Nazar. 8. Kalb. 9. Daulat. 10. Sultán.

‡ 1. Kab. 2. Farrukh. 3. Amír. 4. Yazdád. 5. Khaira Khán. 6. Ganhar-ganj. 7. Núr Khán. 8. Murád. 9. Bakhtiár. 10. Klam. 11. Samand. 12. Marab. 13. Rustam. 14. Tilochan Sháh. 15. Maddat Sháh. 16. Jahán Sháh.

of the Hindú confederacy, bringing into the field 30,000 of the choicest troops. Again we read of the Gakk'hars as being converted to Muhammadanism during the reign of Shihábuddín (Muhammad) Ghorí, or 200 years after they themselves declare Gakk'har Sháh to have been placed in possession of this country by a Muhammadan invader. Firishtah relates that so early as A. H. 63, or A. D. 682, the Gakk'hars formed a treaty of alliance with the Afgháns, who compelled the Rájah of Láhor to submit to terms from the Gakk'hars, and that this treaty included the cession of certain territories in perpetuity to the Gakk'hars. The same author states that before embracing Muhammadanism, they were a race of wild barbarians without either religion or morality. He adds that they had strange customs. When a daughter was born, the child was carried to the door of the house. It was there proclaimed aloud, the child being held in one hand and a knife in the other, that any person who wanted a wife might now take her, otherwise she was immediately put to death. By this means, they had more men than women. Polyandry was common among them, and in their intercourse with their wives the same want of delicacy was observed by them* as is attributed by Herodotus to the Massagetæ in Central Asia and the Nasamones in Africa.†

Their own traditions and tales concerning their ancestors in remote times are for the most part puerile and altogether uninteresting. In compiling the annexed list of the Gakk'har chiefs from the time of Zain Khán or Kábul Sháh up to the present date, with notices of the principal events in their lives, I have been obliged for the most part, where History is silent, to adopt conjectural dates, as the people of the country and the Gakk'hars themselves have no idea of them; for they very commonly, even as regards modern times, mix up the events and transactions of one century with those of another.

The descendants of these ancient chiefs have been in depressed circumstances for years. The Sikhs deprived them of their patrimony, and imprisoned many of them. In 1847, Major Abbott succeeded in getting them released from captivity and

* Firishtah, vol. I., page 104, Bombay Edition.

† Olio, para. 216; Melp., para. 172.

in obtaining for several of them small pensions from our Government. Their chief Hayátullah Khán, who received an allowance of 1200 Rs. per annum, died in 1866. His son Karam Dád Khán, a boy of about sixteen years of age, now receives a pension of 800 Rs. per annum.

I.

Zain Kha'n or Ka'bul Sha'h.

(*A. D.* 983, *A. H.* 373).

Fled from Kashmír owing to the rebellion of his subjects. Took refuge in Afghánistán. Invasion of Afghánistán by Jaipál, Rájah of Láhore, who was opposed and repelled. Formation of a Hindú confederacy by Jaipál. Battle of Laghmán, and total defeat of Jaipál by Sabaktigín of Ghazní.

II.

Gakk'har Sha'h.

(*A. D.* 1005, *A. H.* 396).

Acquired the country within the Sind Ságar Duáb. Made Chiná Ponír near the town of Chaumukh in the Jammú territories his capital. Mahmúd of Ghazní having settled his affairs in India, returned in the autumn to Ghazní, where he remained during the winter. In the spring of the year *A. H.* 399, *A. D.* 1008, he determined again to attack Anand Pál, Rájah of Láhore, for having lent his aid to Dáúd during the late defection in Multán. Anand Pál hearing of his intentions, sent ambassadors on all sides, inviting the assistance of the other princes of Hindústán, who now considered the expulsion of the Muhammadans from India a sacred duty. Accordingly, the Rájahs of Ujjain, Gwáliár, Kálinjar, Qanauj, Dihlí, and Ajmír, entered into a confederacy, and collecting their forces, advanced towards the Panjáb with the greatest army that had yet taken the field. The Indians and Muhammadans arrived in sight of each other on a plain,* on the confines of the province of Pasháwar, where they remained encamped forty days without coming to action. The troops of the idolaters daily increased in number. The Hindú females, on this

* Local tradition states that the battle was fought on the plains of Chach, between Hazroh and Atak.

occasion, sold their jewels, and melted down their golden ornaments (which they sent from distant parts) to furnish resources for the war, and the Gakk'hars and other warlike tribes joining the army, surrounded the Muhammadans who were obliged to entrench their camp. Mahmúd having thus secured himself, ordered six thousand archers to the front, to endeavour to provoke the enemy to attack his entrenchments. The archers were opposed by the Gakk'hars who, in spite of the king's efforts and presence, repulsed his light troops and followed them so closely, that no less than 30,000 Gakk'hars with their heads and feet bare, and armed with various weapons penetrated into the Muhammadan lines, where a dreadful carnage ensued, and 5000 Muhammadans in a few minutes were slain. The enemy were at length checked, and being cut off as fast as they advanced, the attacks became fainter and fainter till on a sudden the elephant upon which the prince who commanded the Hindús rode, becoming unruly from the effects of the naptha balls and the flights of arrows, turned and fled. This circumstance produced a panic among the Hindús, who seeing themselves deserted by their general, gave way and fled also. 'Abdullah Táí with six thousand Arabian horse and Arslán Jázib with 10,000 Turks, Afgháns, and Khiljís, pursued the enemy day and night, so that 20,000 Hindús were killed in the retreat. Of the spoil, 30 elephants, besides other booty, were brought to the king.*

After the death of Gakk'har Sháh, his remains were carried to Kábul, and buried there.

III.

Baj Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1031, *A. H.* 425.)

Rise of the Saljúks. Their wars with Mas'úd, son of Mahmúd of Ghazní.

IV.

Mahpa'l Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1065, *A. H.* 458.)

A brave chief who was invariably victorious in his wars with the Rájah of Siálkot.

V.

Mu'azzam Kha'n.

(A. D. 1101, A. H. 495.)

Ghazní taken by the Ghorians, recovered by Bahram. Cruel execution of Saifuddin, king of Ghor, by Bahram.

VI.

Ashi' Kha'n.

(A. D. 1135, A. H. 539.)

Ghazní destroyed by the Ghorians. Khusrau, the son of Bahram, retired to Láhor, where he was received amidst the acclamations of his subjects, who were not displeased to see the seat of government permanently transferred from Ghazní to their city.*

VII.

Ra'jar Kha'n.

(A. D. 1152, A. H. 547.)

Removed his capital from Chiná Ponir to Dángalí on the right bank of the Jhelam in this district. Foundation of the Muhammadan empire in India by Shihábuddín Ghorí. After Shihábuddín's return from his expedition to Sind, he for the third time engaged in hostilities with Khusrau Malik, king of Láhor, the last of the Ghaznavites who taking courage from despair made an alliance with the Gakk'hars, captured one of Shihábuddín's strongest forts (Siálkot),† and obliged him to call in the aid of stratagem for a purpose which force seemed insufficient to accomplish. He affected alarms from the West, assembled his army as if for operations in Khurásán, and professing an anxious desire to make peace with Khusrau Malik, released his son who had been given up on a former expedition to Láhor as a hostage, and who had hitherto been kept in custody. Khusrau Malik entirely thrown off his guard by these appearances, quitted Láhor, and set out to meet his son, so unexpectedly restored to him, when Shihábuddín put himself at the head of a strong body of chosen cavalry, and marching with celerity and secrecy through unfrequented routes, suddenly interposed himself between Khusrau Malik and his capital, and surrounding his camp by night made

* Elphinstone's History of India, page 304. † Firishtah, page 97.

him prisoner, and soon after occupied Láhor, which no longer offered resistance.*

VIII:

Sipihr Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1186, *A. H.* 582.)

Battle of Tīraurī between Pritwī, Rājah of Ajmīr and Dihlī, and Shihābuddin Ghorī, who suffered a total defeat, *A. D.* 1191. Shihābuddin after collecting the wreck of his army at Láhor, returned to the other side of the Indus, and then remained settled at Ghazní.

IX.

Surkah Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1199, *A. H.* 596.)

It is mentioned in authentic histories that when Shihābuddin was defeated by the Turks of Khatá on his return from Khwárazm, it was currently reported throughout the kingdom that Shihābuddin had been missed in the field of battle, and there was no certainty whether he had perished or escaped. Consequently, enemies rose up on all sides, and every one encroached upon a portion of his kingdom. Among other enemies one named Rasal, who lived in the mountains between Láhor, Kábul, and the sandy desert, having united with a number of Gakk'hars† who dwelt in those parts and paid tribute to the treasury of Shihābuddin, excited a rebellion, began to plunder that tract, and intercept the communications between Láhor and Ghazní, so that no one could pass from one to the other. Upon the return of Shihābuddin to Ghazní in safety, he was informed of these transactions and consequently resolved to proceed to Hindústán and punish the rebellious spirits of that country. For this purpose, he sent an order to Amīr Muhammad, son of Abú 'Alī, whom he had appointed governor of Láhor and Multán, desiring them to despatch the tribute of the year, 601 *A. H.*, as soon as possible, as it was necessary

* Elphinstone's History of India, page 308.

† Firishtah in his history (page 102) states that Surkah, the chief of the Gakk'hars, who inhabited the country along the banks of the Indus up to the foot of the Siwálík mountains, having heard of the death of Shihābuddin, claimed the sovereignty of the country, laid siege to the Fort of Láhor, and raised a rebellion between the rivers Jhelam and Chanáb.

to make preparations for an expedition to Khātá. Muhammad, son of 'Alí, wrote in answer that the tribute of the year had been collected and was ready, but that the Gakk'hars and Rasal, who were in possession of the hills of Júdí, had stopped the communication between Láhor and Ghazní in such a manner that no body could travel on the road. When this account reached the ears of Shihábuddín he wrote to Quṭbuddín, his slave, who was the commander of the army of Hind, to send some person to the Gakk'hars and dissuade them from persisting in such evil courses, and to inform them that if they repented and came again under allegiance, he would pardon their past offences.

When Quṭbuddín Aibag, according to the order of Shihábuddín, sent a person to the Gakk'hars desiring them to submit themselves to the pleasure of the Sultán, the son of the Gakk'har replied that Quṭbuddín had no authority to issue such a mandate, that Sultán Shihábuddín should have sent a special messenger of his own, and further that if he had been really alive, he should have sent direct for the tribute when the Gakk'hars would have despatched it to him. The ambassador replied, "You are not of sufficient consequence for Sultán Shihábuddín to send any messenger to you; it is great honor to you that he has sent even me, who am his slave's slave." The son of the Gakk'har replied—"This is a mere fable; Shihábuddín no longer lives to issue any orders." The ambassador rejoined, "It may easily be ascertained by your sending any one of your confidential servants who can go and convince his own eyes whether Shihábuddín be alive or not." In short, the son of the Gakk'har being determined not to listen to the ambassador, remained firm in his rebellious disposition. When the ambassador of Quṭbuddín returned and gave an account of what he had seen and heard, Quṭbuddín related the circumstances to Sultán Shihábuddín who ordered him to collect the several armies of Hindústán, to proceed against the Gakk'hars and exterminate them from the face of the earth. When this mandate reached Quṭbuddín, he was already making preparations to march against that nation. In the meantime Shihábuddín deferred his expedition to Khātá and caused his army to return, as complaints of the violence and oppression of the Gakk'hars were frequently coming in

accompanied with accounts of their great and increasing power, so that he considered it his duty, first to repulse these people and punish them severely before detaching his forces to any other quarter.* For this reason Shihábuddín gave up for the present the idea of proceeding to Khatá.

On the 5th of Rabi'-ulawwal of the same year, Sultán Shihábuddín returned towards Ghazní, and when after some days he arrived at Pasháwar, he learned that the Gakk'hars had taken up a position between the Jhelam and Súdrah (Chanáb) with a large army. Having marched from Pasháwar on Thursday the 25th of the said month, he attacked them unexpectedly, and the battle lasted from morning till the afternoon of that day. The Gakk'hars fought so valiantly, that the Sultán with all his kingly power and resources was very near being compelled to retreat; but in the meantime Qutbuddín Aibag arriving with the army of Hindústán, began to make havoc among the Gakk'hars, and as his forces were fresh and vigorous, the Gakk'hars were soon overpowered and had recourse to flight. The Muhammadans pursuing dealt slaughter among them in a manner which defies all description. They set fire to their retreat on all sides, and the infidels entering into a solemn covenant not to surrender themselves into the hands of the Muhammadans, threw themselves into the fire. In this manner all of them who had taken refuge in the woods, perished. When the attention of the Sultán was relieved of the anxiety occasioned by these transactions, he marched towards Láhor, and gave leave to his soldiers to return to their homes ordering them to march towards Khatá after a few days repose.*

As long as the Sultán remained at Láhor, the Gakk'hars, who possessed the country between the Indus and the base of the Siwálik mountains, gave much trouble to the Muhammadans, who were unable to travel in the Panjáb on their account. The Gakk'hars had no religion, and they thought it very meritorious to treat Muhammadans in a cruel manner.

On one occasion the Gakk'hars took a Muhammadán captive. This Musalmán mentioned to them the principal points of the Muhammadan faith. The chiefs of the Gakk'hars approving of the religion,

* *Tárikh-i-Alfí*, Elliot's Index to Muhammadan Historians, page 158.

enquired of the captive, "If I were to turn a Muhammadān, what reward would I receive from the Sultān?" The captive replied that after exacting the dues and rights which appertained to royalty, the Sultān would undoubtedly give back the country to him. Accordingly, the chief petitioned the Sultān on behalf of himself and his people, to be numbered among the faithful. The Sultān sent a handsome present to the chief, and invited him to Court. The chief went and became a follower of Islām. The sovereignty of the country was then conferred upon the chief who afterwards was instrumental in the conversion of the whole of the Gakk'hars to the Muhammadan faith.*

X.

Fida'i' Kha'n.

(A. D. 1206, A. H. 603.)

Sultān Shihābuddīn having ordered his army to Dihlī under the command of Quṭbuddīn Aibag, left Lāhor to return to Ghaznī. On the 2nd Sha'bān, A. H. 602, he approached the Indus, and encamped at Rathak (Damhak).† Then twenty Gakk'hars whose relations were killed during the late war, formed a conspiracy to assassinate the Sultān. Accordingly having previously ascertained and made sure of the particular tent in which the Sultān resided, they entered the camp, stole up to the door of the tent, and stabbed the sentinel who was pacing up and down before it. An alarm was at once sounded, and all the people of the camp immediately rushed to the spot, and gathered round the wounded sentinel. The Gakk'hars getting an opportunity by finding the Sultān's tent momentarily unguarded, cut the *ganāts* of the tent, and went inside. Two or three slaves who were near the Sultān in the tent were struck dumb and powerless from fear, and the Gakk'hars approached the Sultān, who was about to undress and retire to his bed for the night, and at once killed‡ him. They inflicted twenty-two

* Firishtah, page 104.

† The Rauzat-ut-Tāhirīn distinctly states that the place was Damhak, an encamping ground on the old road not far from Sultānpūr, the stronghold of the Gakk'hars. The Khulāṣatut-Tawārīkh says the place was under the government of Ghaznī.

‡ In the Siyar-ul-mutaakhhirīn of Ghulām Husain Khān it is stated that Fida'i Khān Gakk'har was the man who inflicted the wounds.

wounds with their knives and daggers. Subsequently Muayyidul Mulk, the Vazir of the Sultán, captured some of the assassins and had them put to death.*

XI.

Mang Kha'n.

(A. D. 1220, A. H. 617.)

Mughul irruptions. When the Sultán of Khwárazm was pursued into India by the Mughuls under Chingiz Khan, he deputed messengers on reaching the vicinity of Dihlí to king Shamsuddín Altamsh, to communicate his arrival, and to prefer a request to reside temporarily in some village near Dihlí. The king after mature reflection deputed a messenger on his part with presents to the Sultán, but objected to comply with his demand for a place of residence on the ground that the climate of India would not suit the constitution of the Sultán. On receiving this reply, the Sultán returned to Belala and Nekala. Those who had effected their escape joined him, and he had now about ten thousand men under him. He deputed Tájuddín Malik Khiljí, accompanied by a force, to Rái Gakk'har in the hills of Júdh, with a request for the hand of his daughter. This request Rái Gakk'har complied with, and sent his son with a number of troops to wait upon the Sultán, who gave the name of Qutlugh Khán to the son, and sent an army under the command of Uzbek Pai against Náçiruddín Qubájah, who was at enmity with Rái Gakk'har.†

In the month of Rajab, A. H. 644, Náçir ibn i Mahmúd took the field, and proceeded towards the mountains of Júdh and the provinces on the Indus. These countries were reduced, and the king took revenge on the Gakk'hars for the continued incursions and for having led the Mughuls through their country into Hindústán, Deeming these offences too great to be pardoned, he carried several thousand Gakk'hars of all ages and of each sex into captivity.‡

During the reign of Sultánah Raziah Begum, Malik Altúniah, having espoused the empress, raised an army composed of Gakk'hars, Játs, and other neighbouring tribes, with which he opposed the forces of Bahrám, but was defeated.

* Firishtah, page 105.

† The Jami'ut-tawárikh (Elliot's Muhammadan Historians, page 26.)

‡ Firishtah, page 134.

XII.**Lahar Kha'n.**

(A. D. 1267, A. H. 666.)

Ghiásuddín Balban. An army of Mughuls belonging to Arghún Khan, king of Persia, invaded the Panjáb, and Prince Muhammad who was governor of the Panjáb met and defeated them, but was himself killed in the conflict.

XIII.**Lakk'han Kha'n.**

(A. D. 1330, A. H. 731.)

Muhammad Tughluq. An army of Mughuls under a very celebrated general, Taimúrshín Khán, having entered the Panjáb, the king bought them off by the payment of an immense contribution.

Búgá Khán the nephew of Lakk'han Khán acquired the 'iláqah of Rohtás and Domelí in the Jhelam District, and governed there independently. His descendants are numerous, and are styled Búgyál Gakk'hars.

XIV.**Haidar Kha'n.**

(A. D. 1341, A. H. 742.)

The Afgháns crossed the Indus and ravaged the Panjáb. In the year 743, Malik Haidar, a chief of the Gakk'hars, invaded the Panjáb, and slew Tátár Khán, the Viceroy of Láhor, in action. Khwájah Jahán was sent, but the Gakk'hars seem to have maintained their position and completed the ruin of the province.

XV.**Kad Kha'n.**

(A. D. 1365, A. H. 767.)

Was a very brave chieftain. He conquered Kashmír, but held it for a short period only.

XVI.**Shaikha Kha'n.**

(A. D. 1380, A. H. 782.)

During the short reign of Náçiruddín Tughluq, the Gakk'hars

revolted under their chief Shaikha and occupied Láhor. Sárang Khán, the governor of Dípálpúr, in the succeeding reign of Mahmúd Tughlug, after collecting a large force from the country round about Multán, went out to meet them. A great battle was fought about 24 miles from Láhor. Shaikha Gakk'har was utterly defeated, and having hastily removed his wife and family from Láhor, he fled and took refuge in the Jammú hills.*

Tamerlane having invaded India and having crossed the Indus at Dhankot (near Kálábágh) in the autumn of A. D. 1398. Jasrat Gakk'har, the younger brother of Shaikha, endeavoured to oppose his advance, but having been defeated, fled and took refuge with Shaikha who, taking advantage of the commotions and anarchy which ensued very shortly afterwards, marched against the Fort of Láhor and re-occupied it; but when Tamerlane retired to the Panjáb on his way back to Samarqand, in the spring of A. D. 1399, Shaikha failed to meet him, and is stated to have given some trouble, and losing a brother at a place called Shahnawáz while attempting to defend the place with 2,000 men only. Tamerlane sent a force to chastise him under Pír Muhammad, his grandson. Shaikha was captured and imprisoned, and subsequently beheaded by order of Tamerlane, who appointed Khizr Khán governor of Láhor and of the Panjáb† generally.

XVII.

Jasrat Kha'n.

(A. D. 1399, A. II. 802.)

Succeeded his brother Shaikha during the reign of Sayyid Mubárah. Jasrat took the field against Sultán Sháh 'Alí, the king of Kashmír, and having defeated him took him a prisoner. He obtained much booty in this war, and being now in the possession of a considerable amount of wealth and power, he resolved to extend his conquests as far as Dihlí. In this he was assisted by Shádí Khán or Zainul'ábidín, king of Kashmír, Jasrat having espoused his cause when still an aspirant for the throne of that country. Zainul'ábidín sent a large force under Jasrat to conquer the Panjáb and eventually to attack Dihlí. Malik Tāghái

* Firishtah, page 279.

† Firishtah, page 288.

a Turk who had found an asylum with the Gakk'hars, to avoid punishment for rebellion against the government of the Sayyids, was appointed commander-in-chief of the Gakk'har army. He subjugated the Panjáb, and seized Lálor, the capital, and crossing the Satlaj went against the town of Talwandí, which was taken and sacked. The Rájah of Talwandí, Rái Fírúz, however, managed to escape. From Talwandí Jasrat went to Rúpar and then to Lúdhíánah, and lastly laid siege to the fort of Jálindhar. Zíarat Khán the governor offered at first stout resistance, but was in the end compelled to sue for peace. Jasrat made a treaty to the effect that Zíarat Khán should evacuate the fort and make it over to Tagháí Khán, whose son should then be sent as an ambassador with presents to the king at Delhi. Accordingly, on the 2nd Jumáda-l-ákhir, A. H. 824, Zíarat Khán surrendered the fort, and went and encamped about five miles away from the town; but on the 2nd day, Jasrat treacherously fell upon the camp of Zíarat Khán, and made him a prisoner carrying him off to Lúdhíánah. Jasrat next besieged Sirhind, and while Islám Khán the governor was engaging his attention, Sayyid Mubárah, the king of Dihlí, having received intelligence of the revolt of Jasrat, marched to Sirhind with a large force. On the approach of the king, Jasrat raised the siege and retreated to Lúdhíánah. In the confusion Zíarat Khán contrived to effect his escape, and to join the king his master, who followed up in pursuit of Jasrat to Lúdhíánah, but Jasrat had in the meanwhile crossed the Satlaj, and possessed himself of all the ferry boats. The river being much swollen from the rain, the king was unable to cross over. After a few days, when the river had subsided, the king marched to Qabúlpúr, Jasrat being still encamped on the opposite side. The king's army crossed over on elephants, but Jasrat without giving battle fled from the place. The king pursued him, and killed many of his men, much property also falling into his hands which the Gakk'hars abandoned on the way. The pursuit was kept up by the king as far as Jammú, and Rái Bhím, the Rája of Jammú, having disclosed to the king the secret hiding-place of the Gakk'hars, the king marched to the spot, coming upon them suddenly and unexpectedly. A great many Gakk'hars were killed, and the

whole of their property was destroyed; Jasrat escaped, however, by flight to the hills.

After the king had retired from the Panjáb and had returned to Dihlí, Jasrat again issued from his mountain fastnesses and besieged Láhor, but being unable to make any impression, he raised the siege and ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Kalánúr, and then started off to Jammú, and attacked Rái Bhím for having betrayed his retreat to the king, but was repulsed by Rái Bhím. He retreated to the banks of the Chanáb, where he stayed for a short time, and began to collect recruits and to form a fresh army. In the interval, Malik Sikandar, an officer of the king of Dihlí, marched with a force by Kalánúr to Jammú and chastised the Gakk'hars who were still concealed in the hills.*

In A. H. 826, a great battle was fought between Rái Bhím and Jasrat. Rái Bhím was vanquished and killed, and a large amount of pillage fell into the hands of Jasrat, who afterwards went with an army of 10 or 12,000 men and ravaged the country round about Dipálpúr and Láhor, destroying and plundering many towns. Malik Sikandar, the governor, attempted to oppose him, but was obliged to retreat. Jasrat formed a friendly compact with Mír Shaikh 'Alí, the governor of Kábul, and these conjointly organized a great army. In A. H. 836, Jasrat with Amír Shaikh 'Alí was signally defeated. The latter returned to Kábul. During the reign of Sayyid Muhammad, the Gakk'hars under Jasrat joined Buhlúl Lodí, governor of the Panjáb.† No further mention is made of this turbulent chief in Muhammadan History.

XVIII.

Malik Gullu'.

(A. D. 1446, A. H. 850.)

The 'iláqah of Pubbí zil'ah, Jhelam, was governed independently by Qiyás, the great grandson of Kad Khán.

* XIX.

Sikandar Kha'n.

(A. D. 1447, A. H. 851.)

The Panjáb re-annexed to Dihlí. Fírúz Khán, the brother of Sikandar Khán, rebelled against the authority of the latter, and was

* Firishtah, page 306, et seq.

† Firishtah, page 307, et seq.

banished to Kashmir. Fírúz Khán, however, returned subsequently, and with the assistance of his brethren and some of the neighbouring tribes, expelled Sikandar Khán, who took up his residence in the Rohtás 'iláqah.

XX.

Fi'ru'z Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1416, *A. H.* 865.)

The descendants of Fírúz Khán are numerous. They are known as Fírúzáł Gakk'hars.

XXI.

Malik Bi'r.

(*A. D.* 1472, *A. H.* 877.)

Death of Buhlúl Lodí, and accession of Sikandar. Malik Bír was very generous. He used to devote one tenth of his revenue to charitable purposes and was lavish of his wealth, chiefly in relieving the poor and feeding faqírs. His subjects were contented and happy.

XXII.

Malik Pi'lu'.

(*A. D.* 1493, *A. H.* 899.)

Ibráhím Lodí. Revolt of Daulat Khán Lodí, governor of the Panjáb who called in the aid of Bábar. Malik Pílú made the town of Ráwalpindí his capital.

XXIII.

Tata'r Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1523, *A. H.* 930.)

The following account of Bábar's expedition against the Gakk'hars is extracted from his autobiography.*

"In the hill country between Níláb and Bherah but apart from the tribes of Jodh and Janjuah, and adjoining the hill country of Kashmír are the Jâts and Gujurs and many other men of similar tribes who build villages and settle on every hillock and in every valley. Their ruler was of the Gakk'har race and their government resembles that of the Jodhs and Junjuas. The government of these tribes which stretch along the skirt of the hills, was at that time held by Tatar Gakk'har and Hati Gakk'har, sons of the

* Leyden's Baber, page 253.

same family. They were cousins. Their place of strength were situated on ravines and steep precipices. The name of Tatar's stronghold was *Perhaleh*.* It was considerably lower than the snowy mountains. Hati's country is close adjoining the hills.† Hati had also brought over to his interest Baba Khan who held Kalinjur. Tatar Gakk'har had waited on Dowlut Khan, and was in a certain way subject to him. Hati had never visited him but remained in an independent, turbulent state. Tatar at the desire of the Amirs of Hindustan, and in conjunction with them, had taken a position with his army a considerable way off, and in some sort kept Hati in a state of blockade. At the very time when we were in Behreh, Hati had advanced upon Tatar by a stratagem, had surprised and slain him, and taken his country, his women and all his property.

"Some persons who were acquainted with the country and with the political situation of the neighbouring territories and particularly the Junjuahs who were the old enemies of the Gakk'hars, represented to me that Hati the Gakk'har had been guilty of many acts of violence, had infested the highways by his robberies, and harassed the inhabitants, that therefore it was necessary either to effect his expulsion from this quarter, or at least to inflict on him exemplary punishment.

"For effecting this object, next morning I left Khoajah Mir Miran, and Miram Nazir in charge of the camp and about breakfast time set out with a body of light troops to fall upon Hati Gakk'har, who a few days before had killed Tatar, seized the country of *Perhaleh* and was now at *Perhaleh*, as has been mentioned. About afternoon prayers we halted, and baited our horses and set off again about bed-time prayers. Our guide was a servant of the Mulla Hust by name Surpa. He was a Gujar. All night long we proceeded straight on in our course, but halted towards morning and sent on Beg Muhammad Moghul towards the camp. When it was beginning to be light we again mounted, and about luncheon time, put on our armour, and increased our speed. About a kos from the place where we had made this halt, *Perhaleh*

* The remains of this ancient fort, now called *Pharwālah*, still exist about 12 miles east of *Rāwal Pindī*.

† At *Dāngalī*.

began to appear faintly in sight. The skirmishers were now pushed forward; the right wing proceeded to the east of Perhaleh. Kuch Beg, who belonged to that wing, was directed to follow in their rear, by way of reserve. The left wing and centre, poured in straight towards Perhaleh. Dost Beg was appointed to command the party charged to support the left wing and centre, who made the direct attack on Perhaleh.

"Perhaleh which stands high in the midst of deep valleys and ravines, has two roads leading to it, one of them on the south-east, which was the road that we advanced by. This road runs along the edge of the ravines, and has ravines and precipices on both sides. Within half a kos of Perhaleh the road becomes extremely difficult, and continues so up to the very gates of the city; the ravine road, in four or five places, being so narrow and steep, that only one person can go along it at a time, and, for about a bow shot, it is necessary to proceed with the utmost circumspection. The other road is on the north-west. It advances towards Perhaleh through the midst of an open valley. Except these two roads there is no other on any side. Although the place has no breast-work nor battlement, yet it is so situated that it is not assailable. It is surrounded by a precipice seven or eight yards in perpendicular height. The troops of the left wing having passed along the narrows, went pouring on towards the gate. Hati with thirty or forty horsemen, all, both man and horse, in complete armour, accompanied by a number of foot soldiers, attacked and drove back the skirmishers. Dost Beg, who commanded the reserve, coming up, and falling on the enemy with great impetuosity, brought down a number of them, and routed the rest. Hati Gakk'har, who distinguished himself by his courage and firmness in the action, in spite of all his exertions could not maintain his ground, and fled. He was unable to defend the narrows; and, on reaching the fort found that it was equally out of his power to maintain himself there. The detachment which followed close on his heels, having entered the fort along with him, Hati was compelled to make his escape, nearly alone, by the north-west entrance. Dost Beg on this occasion again greatly distinguished himself. I ordered an honorary gift to be given to him. At the same time I entered

Perhaleh and took up my abode in Tatar's palace. During these operations* some men who had been ordered to remain with him had joined the skinning party. Among these were Amir Muhammad Kurachi, and Tarkhan Arghun. In order to punish them for this offence, I gave them the Gujar Surpa for their guide and turned them out disgracefully into the deserts and wilds to find their way back to the camp.

"Next morning passing by the ravine on the north-west we halted on the sown fields, when I gave Wali the treasurer a body of select troops and sent him off to the camp.

"On Thursday the 15th of March we halted at Andurabuh (Adránah) which lies on the banks of the river Sohan. This fort of Andurabuh (Adránah) depended from old times on the father of Malik Hast. When Hati Gakk'har slew Malik Hast's father, it had been destroyed and had remained in ruins ever since. About bed-time prayers, the party that had been left with the camp at Kuldah Kuhar (Kaller Kahár) rejoined us."

XXIV.

Malik Ha'ti'.

(A. D. 1524, A. II. 931.)

Return of Bábar. Battle of Pánípat (21st April, 1526). Defeat and death of Ibráhím Lodí. Malik Darwísh Khán Janjuah, who was the chief of Turali and Tab (now in the district of Sháhpúr), invaded the country of the Gakk'hars and gave them battle. The latter were defeated. Hátí Khán took refuge with his maternal uncle, Bassál Khán Khattar. Malik Darwísh became master of the country at Adránah (Tahqíl Fath Jang) where he built the fort which Hátí had destroyed during the lifetime of Malik Tatár as related by the Emperor Bábar, but owing to the treachery of one Dullá by caste, Tothal of Tarlai who commanded the troops of Malik Darwísh, and assisted by his uncle and some of the neighbouring tribes, Hátí surprised the garrison, killing all the Janjuahs and again destroying the fort.

On the return of Bábar to the Panjáb in December 1525, Hátí, brought to his senses by the chastisement formerly received, met the Emperor on the banks of the Indus and accompanied him as

* Firishtah says a considerable amount of treasure was captured in the fort.

far as Bherah. He rendered himself of great assistance to the emperor in furnishing supplies to the army. On taking leave, the emperor made him a handsome present, and conferred upon him the title of Sultán. This title was retained by the Gakk'hars chiefs up to the close of their supremacy.

Háti Khán was poisoned by his wife at the instigation of Sultán Sárang his cousin, and the son of Malik Tatár.

XXV.

Sulta'n Sa'rang.

(*A. D. 1530, A. H. 937.*)

Defeat and flight of Humáyún. First reign of Humáyún, A. D. 1531. Rise of Sher Khán, A.D. 1535. Defeat and flight of Humáyún, 1540. Birth of Akbar, A.D. 1542. Sultán Sárang was the greatest chief of all the Gakk'hars. He is even stated to have exercised kingly powers. Money was coined, and the khuṭbah read in his name within his dominions, which are said to have extended from the banks of the Indus to the Chanáb. On the flight of Humáyún, Kámrán his brother ceded the Panjáb to Sher Sháh, and retired himself to Kábul. On leaving Láhor, Kámrán came to Dángali, and Sultán Sárang had the prince safely conducted across the Indus. When Sher Sháh took possession of the Panjáb and on arriving at the Chanáb, he sent for Sultán Sárang and his brother Sultán Adam, but they refused to come, and sent word that they would only submit to Humáyún and to no one else. Sher Sháh, in A. D. 1540, laid the foundation of the fort of Rohtás in the neighbourhood of Jogí Tilla, on the banks of the Kahan stream, and having left an army of 12,000 men under the command of Saif Khán and Shahbáz Khán for the repression of the Gakk'hars and the protection of the high road, and also having appointed Sháhú Sultání to superintend the construction of the fort, returned himself to Dihli. Sultán Sárang harassed this force incessantly, but his attacks in no way interfered with the progress of the building, which was in due time completed. Sher Sháh, having been informed that his troops at Rohtás were greatly thinned and harassed by the Gakk'hars, sent several times forces to chastise them, but at last finding them most troublesome, he came himself with a large force to the Panjáb. On the approach of the king,

Sultán Sárang became alarmed, and sent his son Kamál Khán to make his submission and to sue for peace. Sher Sháh, however, took Kamál Khán into custody and sent him off as a prisoner to the fort of Gwálár." After this Sultán Sárang was compelled to engage with the king's troops. He was defeated, taken prisoner and beheaded. It is related that sixteen of his sons fell in this battle. Sultán Sárang was buried at Rewát, where his tomb still exists.

XXVI.

Sulta'n A'dam.

(*A. D. 1542, A. H. 949.*)

After the defeat and death of Sultán Sárang, Dángalí was plundered and destroyed by the king's troops. Sultán Ádam fled with his family and took refuge in the Narh hills. Subsequently, he succeeded in gaining a victory over the royal troops and in driving them out of his country. He then repaired the fort of Pharwálah and established himself there. About this time, certain nobles belonging to the Court of Salím Sháh rebelled against their master. Among them were the generals Shahbáz Khán and Saif Khán. The rebels were, however, defeated. They retired among the Gakk'hars and came to Pharwálah. Here the Afghán tribe of Niázi joined them. Salím Sháh on learning that Shahbáz and Saif Khán were at Pharwálah demanded them, but Sultán Ádam refused to surrender them. On this, Salím Sháh sent a large force under Mamara Khán to coerce the Gakk'hars, and to capture the rebels who were keeping alive the insurrection. Sultán Ádam met the imperial troops near Manikyálah and Dodhár Mirzá, but was repulsed and was obliged to retreat to Pharwálah where, with the assistance of the Dhunds, Sattís, and other tribes, he succeeded in gaining a signal victory over Salím Sháh's forces. General Mamara fell into the hands of the Gakk'hars and was detained as a captive in the fort of Pharwálah.

Salím Sháh with a view of suppressing for the future the disturbances excited by these insurgents, moved with an overwhelming force and took up a strong position within the hills north of the Panjáb where, for the purpose of stationing thánas, he built five forts, Mánkot, Rashídkot, &c. As he had no friendly disposition towards the Afgháns (Niázi), he forced them for a period

of two years to bring stones and wood for the building of those fortresses. Those who were exempted from this labour were employed against the Gakk'hars, who gave them no rest, more especially the Gakk'hars of Adálsu and Šmekál, with whom they had skirmishes every day. At night the Gakk'hars prowled about like thieves and carried away whomsoever they could lay hands on, without distinction of sex or rank, put them in the most rigorous confinement, and sold them into slavery.*

In 1552, while Salím Sháh was encamped at Ban near Jammú, prince Kámrán came there and sought an asylum with Sultán Salím. Receiving no encouragement in that quarter, he fled to Sultán Ádam† at Pharwálah. Ádam kept him under surveillance, and about this time (A. D. 1554, A. H. 962) Humáyún received letters from Sultán Ádam, chief of the Gakk'hars, stating, that the prince Kámrán was now in his territory, and that if his majesty would take the trouble of coming there, he would give him up.

In consequence of this information the king immediately marched, and having entered the country of Bangash, first seized and put to death a pretended prophet, who was leading mankind astray by teaching them a false religion; after which he proceeded to Dhankót (Dincote of the maps); he then crossed the Níláb (Indus), and, after repeated marches, entered the territory of Sultán Ádam. When arrived within ten *kos* of the residence of this chief, he was met by an ambassador, who requested him to proceed; he, therefore, about midday reached Pharwálah, his majesty then ordered tents to be pitched for the meeting between him and the prince Kámrán; but the ambassador returned, and said "that the prince insisted upon the king's coming further to meet him." On hearing this his Majesty was surprised, and said, "After I have taken the trouble of coming so far, and have prepared accommodation for the interview, it is strange that he should delay the visit," but to gratify him the tents were sent on another stage. At this place the ambassador again returned, and said, "The prince was not yet satisfied, and requested the king would still advance." His majesty replied, "After evening prayers I will do so."

* Táríkh i Badáoní.

† Firishtah, page 241.

About this time the Gakk'har chief, Sultán Adam, attended by two others, came and paid their respects. The king said, "Sultán Adam, you have taken a long time to perform this ceremony." The chief replied, "I should certainly have done myself the honor of waiting on your majesty at the Niláb, but I had a guest in my house, whom I could not leave (Kámrán)." The king replied, "You have done right, that was of more consequence."

Sultán Adam again repeated the prince's request that the king would move on; his majesty hesitated for some time; but the chief said, "The prince Kámrán is my prisoner; you may do as you like." On this the king advanced to the banks of the river (Rúd Ab),* and sat there on a bed or couch. After about an hour of the night had passed, the prince arrived, and advanced with great humility; the king, however, received him graciously, and pointed to him to sit down on the bed on his right hand, his majesty then sat down on the bed also, having the young prince Akbar on his left hand; Sultán Adam, Abul-Ma'áli, and the other chiefs, were also seated in due order. After some time his majesty called for a water melon, one-third of which he himself took, and divided it with his brother; another third he gave between Akbar and Abul-Ma'áli, and the remaining third between Tardí Beg and Sultán Adam. After this, the prince Kámrán made an apology in the name of several other chiefs for not having waited on the king, but said, they would do so next morning. His majesty replied, "Very well, let them do so," but Sultán Adam said, "As your majesty has taken the trouble of coming so far, it will be more respectful for them to wait on you immediately." He, therefore, sent off a messenger for them; and the chiefs having been introduced, were graciously received. The king then enquired if the tents were all pitched; and being informed that they were, having first distributed *pán* to all the visitors, he mounted his horse and rode to the encampment. Preparations having been made for an entertainment, and public singers assembled, the whole night was passed in jollity and carousing. Early in the morning, the king having said his prayers, lay down to rest, the prince Kámrán retired to his own tent, and did the same. The next night was also passed in festivity.

* Sohan.

On the following day the king's officers demanded of him what he meant to do with the prince Kámrán, he replied, "Let us first satisfy the Gakk'har chief, after which I will do whatever is deemed proper."

On the third day a grand entertainment was expressly given to Sultán Ádam, he was clothed in a dress of honour; the standard kettlo-drums, and all other insignia of royalty were conferred upon him, after which he was graciously dismissed.

On the next day the business of Mírzá Kámrán was taken into consideration: and it was resolved in the first place to remove all his servants from him. Then the king ordered five of his own people, viz., Khanjar Beg, 'Arif Beg, 'Alí Dost, Saidí Muhammad, and his humble servant Jauhar, to attend upon the prince; and he said to me, "My boy, do you know where you are sent?" I said, "Yes; and I know your majesty's (wishes)." He replied, "Your business is to take care of the interior of the tent; you are desired not to sleep for a moment." In obedience to the king's orders, I waited on the prince about the hour of the second prayer; he asked for a carpet, for the purpose of kneeling on: I brought one, and spread it for him. In the evening he performed his devotions inside the tent. After that, he said, "Boy, what is your name?" I replied, my name is Jauhar." He asked, "Do you know the art of shampooing (*khádímí*)?" I replied "Yes, a little." I then began to shampoo him. He asked, "How long have you been in the king's service?" I replied, "I have been nineteen years in his majesty's employ." He said, "You are an old servant." I replied, "Yes." He then asked me, "If I had ever been in the service of the prince 'Askarí?" I answered, "No," he then said, "I have fasted six days, during this holy month of Ramazán; can you be my deputy for the remainder of the month?" I replied, "I can, but your highness will do it yourself; keep up your courage; do not allow melancholy anticipations to take possession of your heart." He then said, "Do you think they will kill me?" I replied, "Princes only understood the motives or intentions of princes; but this I am certain of, that no man should commit suicide; and I know that his majesty is a very compassionate personage." The night passed in this kind of melancholy discourse.

"Early in the morning the king marched towards Hindústán, but before his departure, determined that the prince should be blinded, and gave orders accordingly, but the attendants on the prince disputed among themselves who was to perform the cruel act. Sultán 'Alí, the pay-master, ordered 'Alí Dost to do it. The other replied, "You will not pay a Sháh Rukhí (3s. 6d.) to any person, without the king's directions; therefore, why should I commit this deed without a personal order from his majesty? perhaps to-morrow the king may say, 'Why did you put out the eyes of my brother?' what answer could I give? depend upon it, I will not do it by your order." Thus they continued to quarrel for some time: at length, I said, "I will go and inform the king." On which I, with two others, galloped after his majesty: when we came up with him, 'Alí Dost said, in the Chaghtái Turkí language, "No one will perform the business." The king replied in the same language, abused him, and said, "Why don't you do it yourself?"

After receiving this command, we returned to the prince, and Ghulám 'Alí represented to him in a respectful and a condoling manner that he had received positive orders to blind him; the prince replied "I would rather you would at once kill me." Ghulám 'Alí said, "We dare not exceed our orders: he then twisted a handkerchief up as a ball for thrusting into the mouth, and he, with the Farrásh, seizing the prince by the hands, pulled him out of the tent, laid him down and thrust a lancet (*nashtar*) into his eyes (such was the will of God). This they repeated at least fifty times; but he bore the torture in a manly manner, and did not utter a single groan, except when one of the men who was sitting on his knees pressed him; he then said "Why do you sit upon my knees? what is the use of adding to my pain?" This was all he said, and acted with great courage, till they squeezed some (lemon) juice and salt into the sockets of his eyes; he then could not forbear, and called out, "O Lord, O Lord, my God, whatever sins I may have committed, have been amply punished in this world, have compassion on me in the next."

After some time he was placed on horseback, and we proceeded to a grove planted by the emperor Fírúz Sháh; where it being very

hot, we alighted; and after a short period again mounted, and arrived in the camp, when the prince was lodged in the tent of Mír Qásim.

The author of these pages seeing the prince in such pain and distress, could no longer remain with him; I therefore went to my own tent, and sat down in a very melancholy mood; the king having seen me, sent Ján Muhammad, the librarian, to ask me "If the business I had been employed on was finished, and why I had returned without orders?" The humble servant represented, "That the business I had been sent on was quite completed." His majesty then said, "he need not go back, let him get the water ready for me to bathe.*"

The next day we marched, and entered the territory of the chief, Píránah Janjúah. The aforesaid Píránah came and paid his respects to the king; but Sultán Adam having requested that the country might be given to him, it was done so; his majesty then entered the country of Rájá Sunkar, plundered about fifty of the villages, and took a number of captives; but these were released upon paying a certain ransom, by which the army gained considerable wealth.

The king now resolved on going to Kashmir, but the chiefs said, "This is not a proper season for going to such a country as Kashmir." The king was, however, obstinate, and Abul Ma'álí shot one of the refractory Mughul chiefs with an arrow, and ordered the others to march; on which several of the nobles seeing the determination of his majesty, went and complained to Sultán Adam, who immediately came to the king, and falling at his feet, requested him to forego his intention, assuring him that Islám Khán Súr was advancing into the Panjáb, and that the Afgháns, who had for some time abandoned the fort of Rohtás and crossed the Bahat river, had returned and again taken possession of that district; he, therefore, advised his majesty to return for the present

* Firisht^h adds that some days after the sentence was carried into effect, Humáyún went to see him: Kamrán immediately arose and walking some steps forward to meet him said: "The glory of the king will not be diminished by visiting the unfortunate. Humáyún burst into tears and wept bitterly. Kamrán eventually obtained permission to proceed to Makkah by the way of Súd, and having resided there three years, died a natural death in the year 964 (A. D. 1556.)

to Kábul and Qandahár,⁴ and having there recruited his army, he might next year come back and enter Hindústán or Kashmir, but in the meantime to place the river Sind between him and his enemies, and trust to Providence for the furtherance of his wishes.*

Malik Hast Janjúah, the chief of Makhiálá, having stopped the payment of the yearly tribute to the Gakk'hars, Sultán Adam sent a force against him under the command of his sons Lashkar Khán and Kohan Ráj. Malik Hast submitted. Next, Sultán Adam went to war with the Rájah of Jammú. The Rájah fled, and the bricks of his palace were brought away to Dángalí, where a 'chabutrahi,' or terrace, was constructed with them in commemoration of the victory.

Intelligence having been conveyed to Kamál Khán at Ágrah that Lashkar Khán, son of Sultán Adam, had fallen in love with the wife of 'Aláwal Khán, brother of Kamál Khán, and had caused 'Aláwal Khán to be treacherously murdered, Kamál Khán laid a complaint before the emperor, Akbar Sháh, who ordered the governor of Láhor to chastise Adam and to assist Kamál Khán. Accordingly with the assistance of the governor, Kamál Khán marched to Pharwálah, and Sultán Adam having come out to meet him, a great battle was fought between them. Sultán Adam was defeated, and he and his son Lashkar Khán were taken prisoners. Kamál Khán hanged Lashkar Khán, and confined Adam Khán at Pharwálah.

XXVII.

Kama'l Kha'n.

(A. D. 1562, A. H. 970.)

It is stated in the Akbarnámah of Abulfazl that in the hills and ravines of the country between the rivers Indus and Jhelam are the homes of the Gakk'hars. Though the emperors of Hindústán had invariably been graciously disposed towards Sultán Adam and his ancestors, yet they showed no signs of gratitude. His majesty, Akbar Sháh, had often condoned the misconduct of Sultán

* Stewart's translation of Jauhar's *Tazkirah i Váq'á't*, a history of the Emperor Humáyún, pages 103-107.

Adam in consideration of some trifling good services to the state formerly rendered by him.

On the accession of Akbar Sháh, Kamál Khán came to him, and received a jágir as a reward, and during the war of Khán Zamán with the son of 'Adlí, Kamál Khán, whose jágirs were situated in Haswah Fathpúr and other pargánahs, went with some of his own men to the war, and rendered assistance. He displayed great bravery, and on this circumstance being reported to the emperor, he was taken into greater favour by his imperial master.

On one occasion, the emperor was pleased to express his satisfaction with his conduct, and asked Kamál Khán in what manner he could reward him.

Kamál Khán replied that he was desirous of returning to his own country, but he could not do so, as his uncle Adam Khán had seized all his father's possessions. He added that his father Sultán Sárang had gallantly fought against Sher Khán (Sher Sháh) and that his father and he were taken prisoners. His father was executed, and that he (Kamál Khán) was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Gwáliár. Nevertheless although victorious in battle, Sher Khán was unable to secure a footing in that part of the country. It continued in the possession of Sultán Adam, the brother of Sultán Sárang. Further when Sher Khán was killed, and Salím Khán succeeded, the latter also strove hard to take the country, but in vain. That as regards himself, on one occasion Salím Khán ordered all the prisoners in the fort of Gwáliár to be destroyed. Accordingly, the prison where the captives were lodged, was blown up with gunpowder. The rest of the prisoners perished, whereas by the interposition of Providence he alone was saved, the cell in which he was confined having escaped injury. On being informed of his miraculous escape, Salím Khán ordered his release, and that he (Kamál Khán) had now spent a considerable period of his life in the service of his august master.

On hearing this speech of Kamál Khán, the emperor commanded that all the country which had been in the possession of Sultán Sárang and now held by Sultán Adam, should be divided into two shares. One share was to be retained by Adam and the other to be

made over to Kamál Khán. Instructions to carry these orders into effect were issued to Khán i Kalan Mír Muhammad Khán, Mahdí Qásim Khán, Quṭb-uddín Muhammad Khán, Sharíf Khán, Ján Muhammad Khán, Rájáh Kapúr Deo, and Rájah Rám Chand, jágirdárs in the Panjáb. It was also added that, if Ádam Khán did not obey these orders, he was to be coerced.

Kamál Khán having taken leave of his majesty, came to the Panjáb, and the jágirdárs above mentioned having communicated the imperial commands to Sultán Ádam, neither he nor his son Lashkarí would obey them. Whereupon the jágirdárs reported the circumstance to the emperor, who sent a furmán to the effect that if Sultán Ádam continued to be contumacious, he was to be punished, and the whole of the country was to be made over to Kamál Khán.

Ádam Khán being still obstinate, the imperial troops were marched into his country. The latter were opposed by the Gakk'hars. A great battle took place at Híl* (Tahqíl Gújar Khán). The Gakk'hars displayed great bravery, but they were totally routed and dispersed. Sultán Ádam was taken a prisoner. Lashkarí fled to the hills of Kashmír, but was pursued, captured, and brought back. Thus the whole of the Gakk'har country, which had never before been conquered by any former king of Hindústán, was easily subjugated by the troops of the emperor Akbar.

Kamál Khán having been placed in possession of the country, and Ádam and his son having been made over to Kamál Khán, the imperial forces returned to their quarters. Kamál Khán killed Lashkarí, and Ádam Khán died in confinement.

Kamál Khán's generosity is still remembered. An anecdote is related of him that he once gave one lac of rupees to a *bhát*, or bard, for having recited some complimentary verses before him.

XXVIII.

Muba'rak Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1581, *A. H.* 989.)

His rule was uneventful in the annals of the Gakk'hars. Akbar built the fort at Aṭak in 1583. Sa'id Khán Gakk'har, with a

* The ferry of Híl on the Jhelam river is in the neighbourhood of Dángalí, the ancient capital of the Gakk'hars.

contingent of his followers, served against the Afgháns in Swat (Sawád) and Bajaur under Zain Khán Kokah.

Sa'id Khán was the son of Sultán Sárag. A daughter of his was married to Prince Salím (Jahángír), by whom she had a daughter 'Iffat Bánú Bégum, who died at the age of three years.*

XXIX.

Ajmír Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1599, *A. H.* 1008.)

It happened that one Fath Khán, a Faransiál Gakk'har of Bishandot, a servant of Jalál Khán, was accidentally slain in a hunting expedition by Ajmír Khán. A quarrel ensued between 'Alí Muhammad, the brother of Jalál Khán, and Ajmír Khán. The result was a fight in which a great many persons lost their lives. Ajmír Khán was wounded, and went home and died.

XXX.

Jalál Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1618, *A. H.* 1028.)

A man of strict integrity and great benevolence. During a famine which raged in his country, he saved thousands from perishing by distributing food and money. Jalál Khán was killed in an expedition, undertaken by command of the emperor Jahángír against the Bangash Patháns, Trans-Indus.† Jalál Khán constructed the *pakkah* tank at Kurúnta near Bishandot, which is still in existence.

XXXI.

Akbar Qulí' Kha'n.

(*A. D.* 1653, *A. H.* 1064.)

Defeated the Janjúahs in a battle at Mauza' Karchák'há (zil'ah Jhelam). Akbar Qulí Khán rendered good service to the emperor of Dihlí. Shádmán Khán, the son of Ajmír Khán, rebelled against him, but was vanquished and expelled the country. Akbar Qulí Khán died of paralysis at Gujráat.

* Price's *Memoirs of Jahángír*, page 20, and *Akbarnámah*, Vol. III., page 561.

† *Tuzuk i Jahángír*, Sayyid Ahmad's Edition, page 307.

XXXII.

Mura'd Qulí Kha'n.

(A. D. 1676, A. H. 1087.)

The parganah of Akbarábád was conferred upon Lashkarí Khán, the son of Murád Qulí Khán by the emperor Aurangzib. Lashkarí Khán settled down at Takhtpári. Murad Qulí Khán died in the Khaibar pass.

XXXIII.

Allah Qulí Kha'n.

(A. D. 1681, A. H. 1093.)

Was a man of weak intellect. His wife, Rání Rangú, managed his affairs until his son Dúlú Diláwar Khán came of age, when Allah Qulí Khán was quietly deposed.

A daughter of Allah Qulí Khán was married on the 3rd Rajab, 1087, to Prince Muhammad Akbar, fourth son of Aurangzib.*

XXXIV.

Du'lu' Dila'war Kha'n.

(A. D. 1705, A. H. 1117.)

Was a brave and powerful chief. He fought a battle at Bhakkar with Naçir Khán Liç by command of the emperor Bahádur Sháh, and gained a signal victory. He took Naçir Khán a prisoner and sent him to Dihlí. He rendered great assistance to the Mughul army in chastising the Afridís and other Trans-Indus tribes. His tomb still exists at Phalak'har, near Kaler.

XXXV.

Mu'azzam Kha'n.

(A. D. 1726, A. H. 1139.)

Nothing remarkable is said to have occurred during the short rule of this chieftain.

XXXVI.

Muqarrab Kha'n.

(A. D. 1730, A. H. 1143.)

Many ballads are still extant in the district recounting the exploits of this celebrated warrior. It is related that Khojam Qulí Khán Khattak of Añak surprised and captured the fortress

* *Madsir i 'A'lamgírí.* Thus two Gakk'har ladies were married to Timurides.

of Ráwalpinđí with the assistance of Nawázish 'Alí Gakk'har of Khánpúr. The fortress belonged to the sons of Mubárah Khán, chief of Takhtpári. The Gakk'hars of Ráwalpinđí, headed by Amír Khán Firúzál, treacherously fell upon the Khattak garrison one day and slaughtered them all. On this Khojam Qulí Khán collected a large number of adherents and attacked Ráwalpinđí. Muqarrab Khán came to the rescue of his kinsmen. The fight took place at Gházípur, near the site of the ice-pits in the cantonment of Ráwalpinđí, and the Khattaks were completely routed and destroyed.

Secondly. Muqarrab Khán had had a fight with Chaudhrí Mihr, a Kassar of Bádsháhání (zil'ah Jhelam) for having contrary to the custom of the country forcibly carried off some of his men who had fled to Muqarrab Khán and had found an asylum in his dominions. The Chaudhrí was killed, and his property given up to pillage.

Thirdly. Muqarrab Khán went as an ally of Dawán Ahmad Khán Gakk'har of Mírpúr against Asálat Khán Chib of Mauza' Punír. The Chibs were vanquished and their country was devastated.

Fourthly. Muqarrab Khan espoused the cause of Ahmad Khán in a dispute between the latter and Mulli Khán Mangrál of Saila Kotla, 'Iláqah of Jammú. The Mangráls were defeated and Malik Khán killed.

Fifthly. Muqarrab Khan accompanied Nádír Sháh in 1738 to Hindústán, was present at the battle of Karnál (February, 1739), and then went on to Dihlí, where he was confirmed in his possessions of Dángalí and Pharwálah, and on Nádír Sháh's return to Kábul, he conferred on Muqarrab Khan at Láhor the title of Nawáb.

Lastly. The Sikhs who were rising into importance had in 1752 under their leaders Chart Singh and Gurbakhsh Singh come as far as Sayyid Kasrán and Basalí, and had plundered those towns. They compelled Muqarrab Khán to return from Láhor and to yield up his possessions beyond the Chanáb. They next attacked him at Gufjárat, where he was slain in 1761, fighting desperately at the head of his men. The Sikhs then annexed the whole of his territories up to the river Jhelam.

XXXVII and XXXVIII.

Na'dir 'Alí Kha'n

and

Sa'dullah Kha'n.

(A. D. 1761, A. II. 1175.)

Sultán Muqarrab left four sons, Nádir 'Alí Khán, Sa'dullah Khán, Mançúr 'Alí Khán, and Shádmán Khán. The two latter were mere children at time of their father's death.

The two former accordingly divided the parganahs of Dángalí and Pharwálah between them. They were, however, constantly quarrelling among themselves. In 1765, the Sikhs under Gújar Singh and Çáhib Singh invaded the Ráwalpindí district, and annexed the whole of the Gakk'har possessions to their own, leaving Milkha Singh, their Kárdár, to govern the country.

In 1805, Maharájah Ranjít Singh succeeded Sirdár Çáhib Singh, and appointed Jewan Singh and Anand Singh governors of the country.

Nádir 'Alí Khán and Sa'dullah Khán died without issue.

XXXIX and XL.

Mansu'r Ali' Kha'n

and

Shadma'n Kha'n.

(A. D. 1817, A. II. 1233.)

The latter enjoyed the jágir of Pharwálah up to A. D. 1817, when the governor Sirdár Anand Singh confiscated their jágirs, and allowed them a 'chahárum' (one-fourth) of the revenues. In 1825, Sirdár Búdh Singh deprived the Gakk'hars of all their property and expelled them from Pharwálah. Maharájah Ranjít Singh, however, restored the Chaháruns to them shortly afterwards.

In 1835, when Rájah Guláb Singh was appointed governor of the country, the Gakk'hars having again revolted, he imprisoned Shádmán Khán and Muddú Khán, the son of Mançúr 'Alí Khán deceased, together with all their families, and confiscated their Chaháruns. They were in confinement until 1847. Shádmán Khán and Muddú Khán died in confinement.

XLI.**Hayátullah Kha'n.**

(A. D. 1837, A. H. 1253.)

In 1847, Major Abbott, Boundary Commissioner, had Hayátullah Khán, the son of Shádmán Khán, and the other Gakk'hars, released. Hayátullah Khán enjoyed a pension of 1200 rupees per annum since the date of the annexation of the Panjáb by the British in 1849. The pension was granted to him in consideration of his having been dispossessed of his patrimony by the Sikh government. Hayátullah died in 1865, aged 55.

. XLII.**Karamda'd Kha'n.**

(A. D. 1865, A. D. 1282.)

Son of Hayátullah Khán, lives at Duberun, Tahqíl Kuhúta, and draws a pension of rupees 800 per annum for life. He is married to a daughter of Kamál Khán, his father's only surviving brother.



JOURNAL OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETY.

PART I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1871.

Names of Birds, &c., in four of the aboriginal languages of Western Bengal.—By V. BALL, Esq., B. A., Geological Survey of India.

Any one who has attempted to obtain vocabularies from wild or semi-savage races is aware of the great caution and care which it is necessary to practise, in order to ensure trustworthy results.

The stupidity of interpreters, and the state of nervousness into which some of the wild people work themselves when undergoing examinations in their own languages, are occasionally causes sufficient to vitiate the correctness of any vocabularies, which are not over and over again checked by enquiries from different individuals of the same race.

The most reliable vocabularies are those taken from individuals after a certain amount of intimacy has been established. But with one obliged to travel rapidly through a district, opportunities for establishing such intimacy do not often occur.

Struck with this difficulty it occurred to me that by asking names for tangible and familiar objects, such as animals and plants, about the identity of which there could be no mistake, some valuable results might be obtained. And being in the habit of making collections of plants and birds, I was enabled to carry out this idea to some extent.

The result, it must be confessed, has been somewhat disappointing as, instead of affording additional proof of the original identity of cognate races having similar languages, it shows that names for these natural objects must be in a great measure local and not of equally wide extension with the ordinary words of the languages or even the names of domesticated animals.

The cases I have chosen for illustration are two Múndá and two Oráon lists of birds, and it will be observed that in the following list, little harmony exists between either of the pairs. Where there is agreement, it is generally as often due to the fact that many of the names of birds are mere phonetic representations of their particular notes, as to any primary affinity existing between the languages.

The names, Latin and English, are as given by Dr. Jerdon in his 'Birds of India.'

Latin.	English.	Múnda.		Oráon.	
		Ho or Larká Kol (Singhbóm).	Santál (Dáman-i-Koh).	Kol (Chutia Nágpúr).	Malé or Rájmahál Pahária.
<i>Tinnunculus alaudarius</i> , <i>Spilornis cheela</i> , <i>Circus Swainsonii</i> , <i>C. aeruginosus</i> , <i>Milvus govinda</i> , <i>Urrua Bengalensis</i> , <i>Ketupa Ceylonensis</i> , <i>Athene brama</i> , <i>Epiphates pennatus</i> , <i>Hirundo daurica</i> , <i>Caprimulgus monticolus</i> , <i>Merops viridis</i> , <i>Coracias Indica</i> , <i>Halcyon fuscus</i> , <i>Ceryle rudia</i> , <i>Alcedo Bengalensis</i> , <i>Hydrocissa coronata</i> , <i>Merimeris bicornis</i> , <i>Palaornis Alexandri</i> , <i>P. torquatus</i> , <i>P. rosea</i> , <i>Pinus Mahrattensis</i> , <i>Brachypterus aurantius</i> , <i>Megalaima caniceps</i> , <i>Xantholema Indica</i> ,	<i>Kestrel</i> , <i>Crested Serpent Eagle</i> , <i>Pale Harrier</i> , <i>Marsh Harrier</i> , <i>Pariah Kite</i> , } <i>Rock horned Owl</i> , <i>Spotted Owllet</i> , <i>Indian Scops Owl</i> , <i>Swallow</i> , <i>Night-jar</i> , <i>Indian Bee-eater</i> , <i>Roller</i> , } <i>Kingfishers</i> , <i>Hornbill</i> , <i>Grey Hornbill</i> , } <i>Parrakeets</i> , } <i>Woodpeckers</i> , } <i>Barbets</i> ,	<i>Sengel súi</i> , <i>Pora quid</i> <i>Kokor-r-r</i> , <i>Há en</i> , <i>Hápú</i> , <i>Terang</i> , <i>Toiá</i> , <i>Khí-kír</i> , <i>Deorí</i> , <i>Má-tonge</i> , <i>Rúpe mirú</i> , <i>Keriar</i> , <i>Doe</i> , <i>Ghegr</i> , <i>Am Ere?</i> <i>Kúd</i> ,	<i>Tir máti</i> , <i>Rechi</i> . <i>Tárai kátá</i> , <i>Kokor-r-r</i> , <i>Hápú</i> , <i>Tenam</i> , <i>Toiá</i> , <i>Khí-kír</i> , <i>Darha-mirú</i> , <i>Doit-mirú</i> , <i>Kondi</i> , <i>Ere</i> , <i>Gátrú</i> , <i>Tot</i> , <i>Júra</i> . <i>Sitrá</i> , <i>Chen-ko</i> , <i>Dúndú</i> . <i>Pechá</i> . <i>Kápú</i> , <i>Titerang</i> , <i>Tá-ou</i> . <i>Kil-Kilá</i> , <i>Dhorsa</i> . <i>Koa-Súgá</i> , <i>Khesú-Súgá</i> <i>Kát-Karwá</i>	<i>Kátwi</i> . <i>Básá</i> . <i>Kátwi</i> <i>Kápú</i> . <i>Kuchilo</i> . <i>Muchá kah</i> . <i>Chanden edra</i> . <i>Kodkára</i> . <i>Kátrú</i> . <i>Tokú</i> .

Centropus rufipennis, Hieroceyx varius, Eudynamis orientalis, Arachnothera Asiatica, Pipisoma agile, Dicaeum minimum, Upupa epops, Lanius melanocephalus, Dierurus macrocerus, Grucalus naeai, Pterococcyus peregrinus, Erythrocercus pusilla, Cryptolopha cinereocapilla, Eumyias melanops, Myiagra azurea, Malacocercus terricolor, Pycnonotus pygæus, Phyllornis Jerdoni, Oriolus melanocephalus, Copsychus saularis, Motacilla luzoniensis, M. Madraspatana, Pratincola Indica, Budytes cincticollis, Butorilla rufiventris, Pipastres agilis, Corydalla rufula, Corvus splendens, C. culminatus, Acridotheres tristis, Temenuchus pagodarpum, Sturnopastor contra, Pastor roseus, Passer Indicus,	Grow-pheasant, Hawk Cuckoo, Koel, Honey-sucker, } Flower-pecker, Hoopoe, Shrike, King crow, Cuckoo Shrike, Minivet, Robin Fly-catcher, Grey-headed Fly-catcher, Verditer Fly-catcher, Blue Fly-catcher, Bengal Babbler, Bulbul, Green Bulbul, Golden Oriole, Magpie-robin, Wagtail, Wagtail, Bush-chat, Yellow-headed wagtail, Redstart, Tree Pipit, Titlark, Common Crow, Indian Corby, Myna, Black-headed Myna, Pied Starling, Rose-colored Starling, Sparrow,	Séngél topo, Obor, To-on, Suá. Che. Potam-dángi, Chári, Dá chú, Ho éad, Che, Hon, Som dáchú. Piki. Geo, Chepúr, Som Dá chú, Bacho, Chanda, Hátá rowé. Ráb line, On munda. Kaukal. Ambal-sérwi. Serwi, Khá, Dídámú. Sáví, ow.	Máh kái, Galoi. Kútám dáblá, Karkattá, Debchúe, Káleya, Solai lunde, Suá, Sásáng chere, Jehú, Tetoro, Baramasia, Pio, Hatiúre, Gara chanchir. Jejáwá. Chanchír. Káwá. Chará Kismi, Thárwá,	Múkú, (H) Dichúá, Balbúchi, Pikro, Pikro, Titérang, Balká, Súyá.	Gándiáro. Kula kair. Gobar saró. Goratengi. Chepúa. Keyá. Ghandi pújú. Min káwí. Terghi. Chitáro. Che pedrú. Biji Kokoro. Dhayalo. Saro. Bagáru.
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Notes on three Inscriptions on stone found in Chutiá Nágpúr.—By BABU RAKHAL DAS HALDAR, M. A. S.

Inscriptions and other antiquarian remains are very rarely met with in Chutiá Nágpúr. In the course of my excursions in this country, I have found three inscriptions on stone, which, though not very old, are still, in my opinion, deserving of mention in the pages of the Society's Journal. Chutiá Nágpúr has, at present, little history to speak of. It is by collecting isolated facts, unimportant in themselves, but whose mutual dependence may be ascertained in future, that we may hope to obtain a glimpse at the past history of this interesting country.

The first inscription I refer to, was found at Tilmi, an 'inconsiderable village, which boasted of a fortress a century ago. It was the seat of the Thákurs, a branch of the so-called Nágvansí family. The fortress is now in ruins.

Within the enclosure of the fortress, a stone-well was constructed by one of the Thákurs, curiously named Akbar,* for the payment of the four *vargas*, or beatitudes. One cannot, in these early years, perceive the connexion between the attainment of $\frac{3}{4}$ and the construction of a private well intended for the exclusive use, which the well in question must have been; owing to the polity of the Nágvansí family, it might pass for public work. The inscription was fixed near the mouth of the well, when the dedication was performed in 1794 Samvat (A. D. 1877). The character is the modern Devanágari, and the language is Sanskrit. A copy and a translation are subjoined, myself being no way responsible for the errors in orthography and grammar.

श्रीश्रीरामसहायः ॥

अभिषेकजयाचन्द्रसम्बत्सरप्रभेदकः ।

माघवे मासि शुक्ले तिथौ गुणभोगः दितेः ॥

प्रतिष्ठादीर्घकूपस्यान्करोत्याह श्रीचक्रवर्तः ।

धर्मार्थकाम मोक्षाय विष्णवे प्रियते सदा ॥

* Hindús have adopted a few Muhammadan names, as Himmat, Tahawwur, Fath, 'Ajab, Akbar, Subhán, Gharib, the compounds of which with 'Singh' occur in histories. The family tree of the Mahárájahs of Jaipur alone furnishes a Himmat Singh, an 'Ajab Singh, and a Subhán Singh. THE EDITOR.

Translation.

"The illustrious Ráma is the help. The year consisting of the ocean (4), the merits (9), the *jaśá* (7), and the moon (1), was called Pramodaka. In the month of Mádhava (Vais'ákha), on the third bright moon, Friday, this *Dirghakúpa* (well) was dedicated by the illustrious Akbar* for the purpose of obtaining *ḍharma*, *artha káma*, ~~and *moha*~~, and pleasing Vishnu for ever."

It is noticeable that the letters in the inscription just alluded to, and in the two others I am about to mention, are in relief.

The other two inscriptions relate to the construction of a stone-temple, two hundred years ago, at a village called Borea, about 5 miles N. E. of Ráncí. The temple stands as the monument of a Bráhma's devotion to Madanamohana.

One of the inscriptions is fixed on the wall, and runs thus in Hindí:—

१ श्रीरामसत्य

सम्मत सतरसह्र वाईश
वैशाखसुदी दशमीरजनीम
श्रीरघुनाथ नरेशवीराज
लक्ष्मीनारायण ईश्वरमठसाज

Translation.

"The illustrious Ráma is true. In Samvat 1722 [A. Vais'akh, tenth bright moon, and in the reign of the illustrious Raghunáth [of Chutiá Nágpúr], the lord's temple was begun. Laxmínárāyaṇa."

The last inscription is on a black slab, cut very neatly, and one of the most beautiful I have ever seen. It is in Hindí prose, and commemorates the completion of the shrine.

श्रीमदनमोहन [नमस] ते

लक्ष्मी श्रीसम्मत १७९९ समय वैशाखसुदीदशमी १० [सोमा] रके श्रीश्रीमदनमोहनकर्मठदादादेह याच सम्मत १७९५ समय सावनसुदी दशमी १० के दरवाजा या कोठरो या चारदेवालीकदावा देह तैयार भेल सम्मत १७९८ के

* Query. Could Akbar of Tilmi be of Hindú or Múndá descent? The Hindus are not in the habit of adopting foreign names: the Múndás are.—See Col. Dalton's article on the Kols. J. A. S. B. for 1866, Ethnological No., p. 177.

ताकरलगीत भेल रपैषा चर्जार १४००१ चौद ईसर निमिते ये किहु लागल हय
 से सत्य हय ताकरहिंदु भय मठ दरवाजा चारदेवाली ठाहावाय से गइकरकत.
 पीयूय ब्राह्मणमारलेकहत्या मुसलमानभयमठदरवाज
 चारदेवालीठाहावाय तो 'शुशर'वाय ब्राह्मणमारलेक ओ पीरकथारा शुशर
 कहेरा डारलकदोषतेहि मुसलमानक [हय] तेवारोलखीनारायणभगत इवि-
 नति लिखाय राखल हय कारीगर अनिरुद्धकविनितिसांच हय

Translation.

"Salutation to the illustrious Madanamohana. Auspicious! In 1722, Samvat, [A. D., 1665] Vais'ákha, 10th bright moon, Monday, the foundation of the shrine of S'ri S'ri Madanamohana was laid; and in Samvat 1725, [A. D. 1668] Srávana, 10th bright moon, the foundation of the gateway, with the room and the enclosure, was laid; completed in 1739 [A. D. 1682], at a cost of Rs. 14,001, for the purposes of the god. The amount is correct. Now, if a Hindú desecrate the temple with its gateway and enclosure, he shall drink cow's blood, and shall be visited with the sin of murdering Bráhmaṇ and a spiritual guide. If a Musalmán desecrate the temple, with its gateway and enclosure, he shall eat pork, and visit the sin of murdering his ákhund (or preceptor) and of eating pork in a saint's dinner-plate. The devout Lākṣmináráina makes this humble request to be written. The architect Aniruddha makes this request is proper."

The inscription in Persian is lying near the staircase outside the temple; but owing to the ignorance of the engraver, the letters have not been correctly cut, and the inscription is consequently unintelligible. It is probably a translation of the Hindí inscription given above.

We learn that Rs. 14,001 in the currency of that period were expended in constructing the shrine. The sum was very large, considering the fact that the chief building material, stone, was close at hand. Now, allowing a high remuneration for the architect, there was still a considerable balance left, which probably remunerated the labourers. If "forced labour," so urgently demanded by the present landlords, was then in vogue, a much smaller amount would have sufficed for building the shrine in question.

Notes from Muhammadan Historians on Chutiá Nágpúr, Pachet, and Palámau.—By H. BLOCHMANN, Esq., M. A., CALCUTTA MADRASAH.

The hilly tracts in the south of Bihár, which comprise Palámau, Rámgarh, and Chutiá Nágpúr, are but rarely mentioned by Muhammadan Historians. The earlier histories which we possess, say nothing about them, and it was only during the Mughul Period, when further conquests in the East were impracticable, that the governors of Bengal and Bihár turned their attention to the territories of the independent Rájahs to the south of their province.

In the *Albarnámah*, the whole tract from Bírghúm and Pachet to Ratanpúr in Central India, and from Rohtásagarh in South Bihár to the frontier of Orísá, is called 'Jhárkhand,' or jungle land. There are several geographical names that have the same signification; we find them especially in such districts as are now inhabited by aboriginal races. Thus the Gond word *dongar* means 'a jungle,' 'wilderness,' and hence the numerous Dongars, Dongris, Púrs, Dongargáws, Dongartáls, in Western and Central India. Even the word *bir* in Bírghúm, notwithstanding the various origins which have been proposed, is, I believe, nothing else but Mundáris *bir*, a forest.

The Rájahs of South Bihár and of the provinces along the Western frontier of Bengal gave the emperors of Dillí a good deal of trouble. During the reign of Akbar, Gajpatí and his brother Bairí Sál, Rájahs of Jagdespúr, defied the Mughul armies for several years, though the unequal combat led to their entire destruction; Sangrámsáh of K'harakpúr lost his life in a similar struggle, and his son and successors were forced to become converts to Islám; Rájah Dalpat of Bhojpúr, near Baksar (Buxar), was defeated and imprisoned, and when Akbar at length set him at liberty, on payment of an enormous present, he again armed, and continued to rebel under Jahángír, till Bhojpúr was sacked, and his successor, Rájah Partáb, was executed by Sháhjahán, whilst the Rání was forced to marry a Muhammadan courtier.

About the same time Ratanpúr also submitted to 'Abdullah Khán, the conqueror of Bhojpúr. Gídhór and Chutiá Nágpúr succumbed to the first invader, and Púran Mall and Mádhú, the rájahs of the two principalities, were ordered to assist Akbar's armies in the conquest of Bengal and Orísá. Durjun Sál, Mádhú's successor was defeated and sent to Gwáliár. The Chero family of Palámau submitted on payment of a heavy *peshkash*, and nearly lost it after the sack of Palámau in the beginning of Aurangzib's reign.*

It is curious that Palámau and Rámgarh, though so near Rohtás, are not mentioned in Muhammadan Histories prior to the reign of Sháhjahán, whilst Chutiá Nágpúr which lies further to the south, much earlier attracted the notice of the Mughuls. The name 'Chota Nagporo' is known to be an English corruption of Chutiá Nágpúr. The fifth Report on Bengal Finances under the E. I. Company by Grant, or as he liked to style himself, Sarish-tahdár Grant, has still *Chutea Nagpur*; on Rennel's maps we find *Chuta Nagpour*, and only in modern times, do we find 'Chota Nágpúr,' as if it was the 'Lesser Nágpúr,' in contradistinction to the nágpúr of the Central Provinces. But Chutiá (near the modern Rohtás) was the residence of the old Rájahs, and was selected as the residence by the fourth in descent from Phaní Mukuta,† 'the serpent king,' the legendary ancestor of the Chutiá Nágvansi Rájahs. The British Raj calls Chutiá Nágpúr by its old name, K o k r a h, which

* Several of the above facts have not found their way into our histories, and may be as well to indicate the sources. A perusal of the original passages is recommended to such as take an interest in Bihár History.

Regarding the Rájahs of Jagdospúr (S. W. of Krah), vide the Akbarnámah, Lucknow Edition, III., pp. 140, 162, and my Aín translation, pp. 399, 400, 498.

For the Rájahs of K'harakpúr, vide Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1870, pp. 305 to 307; Ditto, for 1871, p. 98, and Journal, for 1871, pp. 22 to 27.

For the Rájahs of Bhojpúr, vide Akbarnámah, III, 804, 813, and Aín translation, p. 513; Tuzuk i Jahángirí (Sayyid Ahmád's Edition), pp. 83, 385; Pádisháhnámah, I., 221; I., b., 271 to 275, 305.

For the Rájahs of Ratanpúr, vide Pádisháhnámah, I., b., p. 74.

For Gídhór, vide Akbarnámah III, 84, 292.

The court of Dillí did not recognize the titles of Rájahs, that had not made their submission. Hence historians generally call them *Zamíndárs*. On submission, the title of Rájah was conferred. Similarly, the sovereign right of the kings of the Dak'hin was never acknowledged by the Mughuls; they were merely styled *dunyáddár*, *hákim*, &c.

† 'Ethnology of India,' Supplementary Number, Journal A. S. Bengal, 1866, p. 162.

is still the name of one of its Parganahs. The Pargana is much broken up, and the parts are in different places far apart. It is spelt Khukra on the topographical Survey maps. The Rájah, Col. Dalton informs me, used to live at a place in Lat. $23^{\circ} 20'$, Long. $88^{\circ} 87'$, nearly, where there is still an old fort. Grant also uses the name *Kokera* as an equivalent for Chutiá Nágpúr.

~~Kokrah~~ Krah was known at the Mughul Court for its diamonds, and it is evidently this circumstance which led the generals of Akbar and Jahángir to invade the district. I have found two notices of Kokrah in the Akbarnámah, and one in the *Tuzuk i Jahángirí*, from which it appears that Chutiá Nágpúr was ruled over in A. D. 1585 by Mádhú Singh, who in that year became tributary to Akbar. He was still alive in A. D. 1591, when he served under Mán Singh in the imperial army which invaded Orísá. The third notice refers to the year A. D. 1616, the 10th year of Jahángir's reign, when Rájah Durjan Sál was rather roughly handled by Ibráhím Khán Fath-jang, the then governor of Bihár.

The extracts are—

From the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, III., p. 491). “the same time (end of 993, A. H.; or A. D. 1585, 30th year of Akbar's reign), Shahbáz Khán Kambú sent a detachment krah. Kokrah is a well cultivated district between Orísá & Dak'hin. It is ruled over Mádhú Singh. As the country is insubmissible, he thought that he was safe, and assumed an independence. Our men, however, entered the district, and carried off a plunder. The Rájah became tributary (*málguzár*), and was thus fortunate to get under the shadow of the imperial government.”

From the same work, p. 641, 37th year, or A. D., 1591 (end). “Mádhú and Lak'hmi Rái of Kokrah also served in the detachment commanded by Yúsuf Chak Kashmírí.”

* This detachment consisted of the contingents of South Bihár and Western Bengal Rájahs, and marched, in the 37th year of Akbar's reign, over Jhárkhand to Mednípúr (Midnapore), where they joined the imperial army under Mán Singh for the conquest of Orísá.

Tuzuk i Jahángirí (p. 155). “On the 3rd Isfandiármuz of the 10th year of my reign (A. D., 1616; Çafar, 1025) it was reported to me

[Jahángir] that Ibráhím Khán* (governor of Bihár) had overrun Kokrah, and taken possession of its diamond washings. This district belongs to Çúbah Bihár, and the river which flows through it, yields the diamonds. When the river contains little water, tumuli (*gorábhá*) and hollows (*ábkandhá*) are formed. The diamond diggers know from experience that chiefly those tumuli contain diamonds over which insects hover, called by the Hindús *jhíngah*.† They pile up stones on all sides of the tumuli, and then cut into them with hatchets and chisels, and collect the diamonds from among the sand and the stones. Sometimes diamonds are found of the value of a lac of rupees each."

"The district and the diamond river are in the possession of the Zamíndár Durjan Sál. The governors of Bihár sent frequently detachments into Kokrah; but as the roads are fortified and the jungles impenetrable, the governors were generally satisfied with a tribute of two or three diamonds."

"When I appointed Ibráhím Khán governor of Bihár, *vice* Zafar Khán, I told him, at the time of departure, to invade the district, ve away the unknown petty rájah."

sooner had Ibráhím entered on his office, than he prepared to invade Kokrah. The Rájah according to custom sent amonds and elephants; but Ibráhím was dissatisfied, and the district before the Rájah could collect his men. When I received the news of the invasion, he was in fact already bo-
 gged in the pass (*kohdaráh*) where he used to reside. Some of Ibráhím's men who had been sent out to look for him, found him with several persons, among them his mother, another wife of his father, and one of his brothers, concealed in a cavo. They were

* Ibráhím Khán was the younger brother of Núr Jahán; *vide* Ain translation, p. 511. Regarding Shahbáz Khán Kambú and Yúsuf Chak Kashmíri, mentioned a little above, *vide* Ain translation, pp. 399, 478.

† The rare Hindústání Dictionary, entitled *Nawádir ul Alfáz*, by the renowned Sirájuddín 'Alí Khán Arzú (Journal, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1868, pp. 27, 70) says—*Jhíngá* is a small animal which lives in the water, and is called in Arabic *jardá ulbahr* ('water locust'), or *irbián*." This dictionary contains strictures on the Hindústání Vocabulary entitled *Ghordib ullughát* by the excellent grammarian 'Abdul Wási' of Hámí, whose work Sir H. Elliot used for his Supplementary Glossary. Elliot generally calls it the "*Risálah*."

Forbes in his dictionary translates *jhíngá* by "shrimp, a prawn," evidently against native authorities. An insect seems to be meant, as may perhaps also be seen from the word *jhíngar*, a cricket.

deprived of the diamonds in their possession. Twenty-three elephants besides were taken."

"As reward I made Ibráhm a commander of 4000, 4000 horse, and gave him the title of *Fath-jang*, and promoted all others that had shewn courage on the occasion to suitable posts."

"The district is now subject to me. All diamonds found in the district are forwarded to court. Only a few days ago, a diamond arrived which had a value of 50,000 rupees, and I hope many more will be added to my store of jewels."

The diamond river alluded to is the Sank (spelt *Soank* by Ren-
nel, and *Sunk* on our maps).

Col. Dalton kindly sent me the following extracts from a history of the Mahárájahs of Chutiá Nágpúr, of which he possesses a MS. copy; but the names of Mádhú Singh and Lak'hmi are not given among the names of the Rájahs. Durjan Sál is mentioned as the 45th Rájah. Col. Dalton says:

"The 44th Rájah was Bairí Sál. He went to Dihlí, and accompanied the emperor Muhammad Sháh (?) in various expeditions of his against new countries. Having broken the chain of an elephant (an exhibition of strength, I suppose), he by this exploit and other means pleased the emperor, who was also made acquainted with the history of Mahárájah Phani Mukuta; and he rewarded Bairí for his good services with dresses of honour and valuable gifts. Parganah Sherg'hátí was also conferred on him, after which Bairí dwelt at Doisé, where he constructed a suitable residence, and died after a reign of fourteen years."

"The 45th king was Mahárájah Durjan Sál. In consequence of his having failed for several years to pay his tribute to Dihlí, Nawáb Ibráhm Khán came from that city with 2000 cavalry and other troops. Durjan Sál was defeated, captured, and thrown into prison. He offered as ransom jewels, gold, and silver, to the value of 84 krons of rupees, but the Nawáb Cáhib would not release him. The Rájah and his offering were taken to Dihlí, where he was again fettered and sent to Gwáliár Fort, and kept in durance for twelve years. Other Rájahs were imprisoned in the same place."

"It happened that from some place two diamonds were brought

to the emperor, and the jewellers who tested them, pronounced the best of them to be impure, and a flawed diamond they declared to be sound. The emperor therefore called for Durjan Sál, who was a great judge of diamonds. He pointed out the flaw (*bál*, pr., hair), and to prove that he was right, he tied the diamonds to the ends of the horns of a ram, made the animal fight with another ram, when the diamond with the flaw split, and the *bál* became apparent. The other diamond remained uninjured. The emperor was so pleased, that he pardoned Rájah Durjan Sál, released him, and restored all the property that had been taken from him. In parting with the emperor, Durjan Sál was permitted to make any request he pleased. Durjan on this clasping his hands as a suppliant begged that all the Rájahs who were imprisoned with him, might be released. This was acceded to, and the emperor gave the Rájah permission to crave another boon. He begged that his former rank might be restored him, including the right to sit on a chair in the presence of the emperor. This also was awarded."

"It was then settled that the Rájah of Kokrah should pay a tribute of 6000 rupees annually, and the title of Sháh* was conferred on him."

* This is a myth; for the title of *Sháh* is a Muhammadan title, and no Muhammadan title, not even the title of Khán, was ever conferred on a Hindú. Besides, the title of Sháh according to the Dillí ceremonial code was limited to princes.

The kings of Dillí before Bábar styled themselves *Sultáns*, both before and after the downfall of the Khalífahs of Baghdád, who by the whole Muhammadan world were looked upon as 'the fountain of all honours and titles.' The princes had titles as KhánKhánán, Khán Jahán, Ulugh Khán, Ikit Khán, Bárbak, &c. The Amirs had the title of *Malik*. With Bábar the code was altered. He and his successors styled themselves *Pádisháh*, and the lower title of *Sultán* was given to the princes, whilst the sons of princes were styled *Sháhzádah*. A few princes received for meritorious services the title of *Sháh*, as Khurram and Muhammad Mu'azzam. The title of *Sultán*, in the masculine form, was also extended to princesses, the word *Begum* being placed after the name, as *Sultán Nisár Begum*. The daughters of princes had the title of *Sháhzádah Begum*, or merely *Begum*. The principal queen, before the Mughul rule, had the title of *Malikah*, and under the Mughuls that of *Pádisháh begum*. The Amirs under the Mughul rule received personal titles from the Emperors; the titles of KhánKhánán and Khán Jahán being looked upon as the two highest titles. It is erroneous to believe that KhánKhánán means Commander-in-chief. The word *Nawáb* (properly *Nucwáb*) was a title, or rather an epithet, used in common parlance; but there is no example on record that the Court of Dillí—certainly not before Aurangzib and Bahádur Sháh—ever conferred the word *Nawáb* as a title. The title of *Khán* was most frequently conferred. The word *Baháddur* is

"I have not found out the other names." As Durjun Sál's successor was Madhukár Sáh, he cannot be the Mádhú of Akbar's times. It is strange that the proper name of the emperor should not have been known in Chutiá Nágpúr.* •

The fact mentioned by Col. Dalton that Durjan Sál was imprisoned for some time is confirmed by an accidental remark in the *Tuzuk*, p. 236, where Jahángír, three years after the conquest by Ibráhim Fath-jang, in speaking of the diamond mines of Kokrah, says, "The zamíndár is still in prison." There may even be a grain of truth in the recall of Durjan from prison to test some diamonds, because on p. 244, Jahángír says that the diamonds which Ibráhim Khán had brought from Kokrah had been given to the grinders; "they were now submitted to me, and among them there is one which looks like a sapphire (*nílam*, the same as *nílmant*). I have never seen a diamond of such a colour. It weighs several *surkhs* (*ratís*), and my lapidaries fix its value at 3000 rupees, though they would give 20,000 for it, if it were quite white and stood the full test."

Of Rámgarh, I have hitherto found no notice in Muhammadan Historians. It must have been at an early time dependent on Bihár, because Chai Champá, according to the *Áin*, was a Pargana belonging to Bihár. It was assessed at 620,000 *dáms*, or 15,500 Rupees, and was liable to furnish 20 horse and 600 foot Zamín-dári troops.

Of Pachet, I have only found a short remark in the voluminous *Pádisháhnámah* (I., b., p. 317).

no title either, but, as in the case of Nawáb, was often used in common parlance and in letters; in fact we find it used after almost every title, from the princes down to the lowest courtiers. *Bahádur Khán* was a title, as Sher Afkan Khán, &c. *Khán Bahádur* is a modern title conferred by the British Government, which has thus changed the epithet 'Bahádur' to a title.

* None of these titles were hereditary, and, if we except the title of Khán (without addition), no two courtiers had the same title. Thus if a courtier had the title of Bahádur Khán, no other courtier had the same; only on the death or dismissal of a Bahádur Khán could the title be conferred on another grandee.

The title of *Beg* was never conferred under the Mughal rule. It is a Turkí title, and was looked upon in India as lower than *Khán*.

I trust, I shall be forgiven this long diversion which has nothing to do with Chutiá Nágpúr; but the opinions of our historians are rather hazy on this subject.

* Babu Rakhal Das Haldar mentions a Rájah Raghunáth, who according to inscription on p. 109 reigned in Chutiá Nágpúr in 1665, A.D.

"Bír Naráin, Zamíndár of Pachet, a country attached to Gúbah Bihár, was under Sháhjahán a commander of 700, 300 horse, and died in the 6th year (A. H. 1042-43, A. D. 1632-33).

Short as the remark is, it implies that Pachet paid a fixed *pesh-kash* to Dihlí.

But the *Pádisháhnámah*, and the '*Alamgír-námah*, a detailed history of the first ten years of Aurangzib's reign, contain three longer notes on Palámau, which are of some interest. The former work spells the name of Palámau *پالامون*, *Palámaun*; the latter has *پالاون* *Paláwon*.

According to the *Pádisháhnámah*, in 1641, when Sháistah Khán was Sháhjahán's governor of Bihár, the Rájah of Palámau was Pratáb, son Balbhadra, who is called a Chero. The Cheros, like the Kharwárs, are a Kolarian tribe, to whom Buchanan attributes numerous monuments in Bihár.

The word Chero is spelled by Muhammadan historians *چرو* *Charoh*, *چيرو* *Cheroh*, and *چيرو* *Chero*. The earliest notice of Cheros, I believe, is to be found in the *Tuhfah i Akbarsháhí*,* a history of the Súr Dynasty, written during the reign, and apparently at the command, of Akbar. From this work we see that a Chero Rájah of the name of Mahárta (مهارت) gave Sher Sháh some trouble. He sent his general Khawác Khán against him, who attacked the Rájah and killed him. This took place immediately before the battle of Qannauj (10th Muharram, 945, or 8th June, 1538, A. D.) Unfortunately, it is not stated whether Mahárta reigned in Palámau or any other part of Bihár. Abulfazl also mentions Cheros as the principal Zamíndárs (in 1590) in Chai Chámpá (Rámgarh) and Pundág (Palámau). *Áin text*, p. 418.

* The *Tuhfah i Akbarsháhí* was written by 'Abbás Khán Sarwání, son of Shaikh 'Alí Sarwání, and is divided into three *Tabaqát*, or chapters. *Chapt. I.* The reign of Sher Khán. *Chapt. II.* Islem Khán. *Chapt. III.* The successors of Islem Khán. The first chapter was translated into Urdú by one Mazhar 'Alí Khán, at the request of Capt. James Mowat (موقت Mogat, or Mowat?),

and in the preface the Marquis of Wollsey and Lord Cornwallis are praised. The translation, which has the title of *Tárikh i Sher Sháhí*, is easy and flowing, and the MS. copy in the Society's Library is a very excellent MS. I have seen no copy of the original work.

Shaistah defeated Rájah Pratáb in several engagements, and in February, 1642, Pratáb submitted, and became a vassal on payment of 80,000 rupees as *peshkash*.

Pratáb, after this, is said to have lost the affections of his people, and a party conspired against him, led by his paternal uncles Daryá Rái and Tej Rái. They prevailed in 1642, or 1643, on I'tiqád Khán, Sháistah's successor, to connive at Pratáb's deposal. The governor agreed on the condition that Pratáb should be sent to Patna. Tej Rái then imprisoned Pratáb, and mounted the guddee. But he, too, failed to give satisfaction, and Daryá Rái, his elder brother, and other Chero chiefs, complained of him to the governor, who moreover felt annoyed that Tej Rái had not sent Pratáb to Patna. They asked I'tiqád Khán to send a corps into Palámau, and promised to hand over Fort Deogan. The principal forts of district were Kot'hí, Kundah, Deogan, and Palámau itself. I'tiqád now sent a strong force under Zabardast Khán, to whom Deogan was surrendered. But before he could march on the capital, a party set Pratáb at liberty during Tej Rái's temporary absence from Palámau on a hunting expedition. Tej Rái and his party had to fly to the jungles; Pratáb made peace with Zabardast Khán, and ultimately paid his respects at Patna. At the recommendation of the governor, Sháhjahán made him a commander of 1000, 1000 horse, and Palámau was given him a *tuyúl*. The *jama'* was fixed at 1 kror of dáms, or 250,000 rupees, and the Rájah had to pay 1 lac of rupees as *peshkash*.

From the list of Sháhjahán's grantees (*Pádisháhnámah* II, p. 733) we see that Pratáb was still alive in A. D. 1647.

The following is a translation of the extracts.

First Invasion of Palámau in A. D. 1641-42.

Pádisháhnámah, II., 248 to 250. Palámau lies south of Patna, the distance from the latter place to the northern boundary of the former being 25 *kos*. The distance of the fort where the zamíndár of the district resides, from the (northern) boundary is 15 *kos*. The short-sided rulers of Palámau trusted to their mountain fastnesses, which are difficult of access and full of jungle, and showed no signs of obedience to the imperial governor of Qúbah Bihár, as would have been proper.

Pratáb, whose family, generation after generation, had ruled over the country, an infidel like all his ancestors, had neglected to send the customary *peshkash* to 'Abdullah Khán Bahádúr Firúz-jang, the former governor of Bihár; and the Qúbahdár, engaged as he was in operations against the rebellious Partáb Ujjainiah [Rájah of Bhojpúr] had hitherto had no opportunity of bringing him to his senses. This made the Chero so haughty, that he also disobeyed Sháístah Khán, the new governor. Sháístah at last reported matters to court, and his Majesty [Sháhjahán] ordered the Qúbahdár to call in the contingents of the Jágirdárs of the Qúbah (the *Kumakí* troops), and drive away the zamíndár and "clear the country of the filth of his unprofitable existence."

Leaving his son Muhammad Tálíb with 500 horse and 1000 foot, as garrison in Patna, Sháístah marched on the 17th Rajab, 1051 [12th October, 1641, A. D.] with about 5000 horse, taken partly from imperial regiments and partly from his own contingent, and 15000 foot consisting of his men and zamíndári troops, against that vain and misguided ruler. The march order was as follows—Sháístah commanded the centre (*gol*), which was made up of imperial troops; Zabardast Khán formed the vanguard (*haráwal*); Atash Khán Dak'hini and several other officers commanded the left wing (*búranghár*); and others, the right wing (*juranghár*). Sayyid Mírzá, brother of Mukhtár Khán, with a few other officers, commanded the rear (*chandáwul*). Having made these arrangements, he set out for Gayá, which forms the boundary of the province of Patna and borders on Palámau, and entered the hostile territory. Wherever he pitched his camp, he had trenches dug, the earth of which was formed into a wall surrounding the whole of the encampment, and matchlock-men were placed as guards in the trenches, to frustrate night attacks. A large party was employed to cut down the jungle and make a road wide enough for the army to advance. All settlements on both sides of the road were plundered and destroyed. The wretched enemies withdrew on every occasion to the jungles and the hills, and trembled like victims in the hands of the butcher. The swords of the soldiers, swords of 'pure water,' delivered many 'unto the fire of hell;' others

escaped half dead with fright. Of our troops also some were wounded, and a few fell martyrs in this holy war. * * *

On the 5th Zí Qa'dah [26th January, 1642], the victorious army left the station Arú, and directed its march upon the north side of Fort Palámau. The enemies collected at a place where two roads crossed (*bar sar i durdáh*), but fled after a short engagement. As the fort was on all sides surrounded by impassable jungle, Sháistah Khán sent an officer of one of his own contingents with a party of navvies, hatchet-bearers, a detachment of matchlock-men, and archers, to cut down the trees and clear a spot for the tents. Having marked off a place near a garden close to the fort, they began to cut down the trees, when the enemies rushed upon them from all sides; but our men with God's assistance were victorious, and killed many of them. Sháistah, on hearing of the engagement, sent at once a detachment of imperial troops and of his own men to their assistance, and, together with Zabardast Khán, took up a position on the banks of a river, which flows below Fort Palámau. The enemies, covered by the houses outside the fort, fired upon him, and as a number of our troops suffered martyrdom, the men dismounted and occupied the summit of a hill which commands the Fort. The firing lasted till evening, and large numbers were killed and wounded. Pratáb saw the pluck of our troops, and convinced himself that there was no other help but to submit; he therefore sent a message, and offered to pay a *peshkash* of 80,000 Rupees, if he obtained free pardon, promising at the same time that he would never again in future rebel. He was so overawed, that he even engaged to pay his respects at Patna.

In consideration of the heat, and the approach of the rains, Sháistah Khán, at the recommendation of several loyal officers, accepted the proposal; and after receiving the *peshkash*, he returned on the 22nd Zí Qa'dah to Patna [12th February, 1642].

Second Invasion of Palámau, in A. D. 1643.

Pádisháhnámah, II., 356 to 361. Pratáb failed to secure the affection of his people, and offended his chiefs, who watched for an opportunity to get rid of him.

When I'tiqád Khán had been appointed to Bihár, he was waited

upon by Daryá Rái and Tej Rái, paternal uncles of Pratáb. They tried to obtain his favour, and proposed to imprison Pratáb and hand him over to the Çúbahdár. Both then returned to Palámau, and with the consent of others imprisoned him. Tej Rái was made Rájah. When the governor came to hear of it, he wrote to Tej Rái to hand over Pratáb; but Tej Rái put him off with subterfuges,¹ and sent a Vakíl to him to make excuses.

Pratáb had been for some time in prison, when Daryá Rái, Tej Rái's elder brother, together with several other Chero chiefs, got dissatisfied with Tej Rái, whom they had made Rájah. The conspirators found support in I'tiqád Khán, who advised them to submit to the imperial government; and Daryá Rái and his party sent him a message to say that, if he would send a trusted officer with an army, they would hand over to him Fort Deogan, which is a great Thánah in the district of Palámau, and would, besides, do whatever he should tell them.

Upon this the governor of Bihár sent Zabardast Khán with the ruler of Sháhábád to Palámau.

On the 1st Sha'bán 1053, A. H. [5th October, 1643, A. D.] Zabardast Khán arrived at Deogan, and was waited upon by Daryá Rái, his sons, and the two commanders of Deogan, Bhowál and Champat, who handed over the fort. The Khán then sent Daryá Rái with some of his own men to I'tiqád Khán. The inhabitants of Deogan partly submitted and were promised the protection of the imperial government; but others rebelled and were imprisoned. Zabardast now appointed a party of men to cut down the jungle and widen the road that leads to Palámau, and commenced to repair and strengthen the fortifications of Deogan.

On the 11th of the same month [15th October, 1643], the Khán received intelligence that Tej Rái had sent his vakil, Madan Singh Thakurái, and other chiefs with about 600 horse and 7000 foot to Báolí Chewan, a *mauza* which lies about five *kos* south of Deogan, and that two other corps had been sent viâ Mordah and Kundah, and were ready to commence hostilities. A detachment of the first mentioned corps even advanced two *kos* nearer, with the object of making an attack by night. The Khán sent out a division to

oppose them; several of the hostile troops were killed, and the remainder fled.

On the 16th [20th October], I'tiqád Khán having heard of Zabardast's advance, ordered 'Abdullah Najm i sání, Bakhshí of Qúbah Bihár, to march, with Daryá Rái and a strong corps, to the support of Zabardast Khán, and prepared himself to follow, should it be necessary.

By the help of the good luck which so signally furthers the policy of the imperial government, it happened that on the 3rd Ramazán [5th November, 1643], Tej Rái left Fort Palámau with a hunting party. During his absence, Qúrat Sen and Sabal Sen, sons of the vakíl Madan Singh Thakurái, declared for Pratáb, took off his fetters, and having brought over the garrison, put him in possession of the fort. Some of Tej Rái's companions returned afterwards to Palámau and were let in, others fled, whilst Tej, who now stood between two fires, concealed himself in the jungles. Madan Singh Thakurái and two or three other chiefs who lay encamped in front of the imperial army, fled in the middle of the night with a great number of their men.

On receiving this information, Zabardast Khán left Dharnídhār, the Ujjainiyáh, with a detachment of his own men as garrison in Deogan, and marched on the 5th Ramazán [7th November, 1643] upon Palámau. He passed through a dense jungle, forced several difficult passes, and arrived at Mángarh.

Pratáb seeing that resistance was useless, wrote to Zabardast Khán that the arrival of the imperialists was a deliverance sent him by God; he willingly submitted to the government, and would be glad to be allowed to wait on him. Zabardast had occupied Mauza' Bári, 3 kos from Palámau, and replied to Pratáb's message that the Rájah would have to come with him to I'tiqád Khán; if he should not like that, he ought to remember that the Bakhshí of the Qúbah was about to arrive with a strong corps, when escape would be impossible. Pratáb answered that when Sháístah Khán ere this had come with a large army to the walls of Palámau with the object of taking it, he had not been obliged to wait on him, Sháístah having contented himself with receiving the *peshkash*, when he returned; he had no objection to wait on

Zabardast Khán; but as none of his illustrious predecessors who had been rulers, had ever gone to Patna, he could not promise to go there. Zabardast, in reply, said that he would have either to go to Patna or perish. After several other messages, Pratáb declared himself willing to go to Patna, though it be, he said, against the wishes of his party; but he requested Zabardast to give him a letter of safety and promise him that he would do him no harm.

This Zabardast agreed to, and Pratáb had an interview, at which he gave the Khán an elephant. As he was still willing to go to Patna, Zabardast asked I'tiqád Khán to send him a letter of safety, and wrote to 'Abdullah Najm i sání that, as Pratáb had submitted, it was no use for him to advance beyond where he stood, since Zabardast himself was on the point to return.

On the 17th Ramazán [19th November, 1643], Zabardast left Palámau accompanied by Pratáb, and on the 22nd joined 'Abdullah Najm i sání at Deogan, from where both marched to Patna.

Pratáb presented I'tiqád Khán with an elephant, and agreed to pay into the imperial treasury a *peshkash* of one lac of Rupees, which Zabardast was to receive. I'tiqad then sent a detailed report to court, and recommended Pratáb for a mançáb. Thereupon his Majesty appointed Pratáb a full commander of 1000 horse; the *jama'* of Palámau was fixed at 1 kror of dáms [250,000 rupees], and the district was left him as *tayúl* [Muharram, 1054, or beginning of March, 1644, A. D.].—

The *Pádisháhnámah* records no further conflict between the Mughul government and Palámau. From a remark on p. 733 of the second volume of that work, we see that Pratáb was still alive in 1057, or A. D. 1647.

The following extracts are taken from the '*Álamgírnámah* (pp. 648 to 660; 673, 972). The translation is not literal; for the ornate style of the work renders a close version undesirable.

Third Invasion and Sack of Palámau, in A. D. 1660.

Page 648. The heathenish zamíndárs of Palámau trusting to the inaccessibility of their country had not only shewn neglect in paying the stipulated *peshkash*, but had also encroached on imperial lands adjacent to their country. When therefore Dáúd Khán,

governor of Bihár, had returned from the expedition to Bengal, and had brought several other refractory zamíndárs to their senses, his majesty [Aurangzib] ordered him to invade Palámau. The jágírdárs and faujdárs of Bihár were at the same time ordered to place themselves and their contingents under his orders.

On the 2nd Sha'bán of the same year in which he had subjected other rebellious zamíndárs [2nd Sha'bán, 1070, or, 3rd April, 1660], Dáúd marched upon Palámau, accompanied by Mirzá Khán, Faujdár of Darbhanga, Tahawwur Khán, Jágírdár of Chainpúr, Rájah Bihrúz,* zamíndár of Munger, and other officers of the Qúbah.

Palámau lies 40 *kos* south of Patna, the distance of Patna to the frontier of Palámau being 25, and that of the frontier from the residence of the Rájah, 15 *kos*. The district has two stone forts, one on the top of a mountain, the other on even ground near a large river. The whole country is very mountainous and full of jungle. Besides, there are three other forts near the Bihár frontier, viz. Koṭ'hí, which lies 25 *kos* from Palámau; Kundah, 7 *kos* from Koṭ'hí, to the left of it; and thirdly Fort Deogan, at a distance of 10 *kos* from Koṭ'hí, to the right. During the reign of Sháhjahán, 'Abdullah Khán, and after him Sháístah Khán, had attacked Pratáb, son of Balbhádr, the Chero; but they had not annihilated the Rájah. Dáúd Khán contemplated the total subjection of the country, and first marched upon Koṭ'hí.

On the 5th Ramazán of the same year [1070 A. H., or 5th May, 1660], he reached Koṭ'hí. The enemies were so terrified by his unexpected arrival, that they deserted the fort, and Dáúd took possession of it. He then moved to Kundah. This fort is very strong and lies upon a hill. Though only 8 *kos* from Koṭ'hí, the road to it passes through dense jungle, and half way there is a high hill and a difficult pass. The trees therefore had to be cut down to a distance of one *kos* from the fort. The determined advance of the imperialists frightened the enemies from this fort, too, and on the 4th Shawwál, [1070; 3rd June, 1660] Dáúd took possession of it, and razed in a short time the

* Bihrúz of K'harakpur. *Vide* Proceedings, A. S. Bengal, for December, 1870, p. 307.

fortifications to the ground. As the rains were setting in, he erected between Koṭ'hí and Kundah, at every third *kos*, fortified encampments, placing in each 100 horse, and a detachment of matchlock-bearers and zamíndarí troops, so that provisions might safely be sent from Bihár to head quarters.

When the rains were over, he set out for Palámau, without paying attention to proposals made by the Rájah to accept a *peshkash*, and return to Putna. On the 1st Rabi' I., of this year, [A. H., 1071, or 25th October, 1660] Dáúd commenced his march. Mirzá Khán, with 300 horse and 200 matchlock-bearers, formed the van; Tahawwur Khán, with 700 horse and 300 foot, hold the right wing; Shaikh Tátár, son of Dáúd's brother, with 500 *tábinán** horse, and Rájah Bihrúz, with 400 horse and 1500 foot, commanded the left wing; whilst Dáúd Khán in person occupied the centre with 2000 horse. He also told off 500 horse of his own contingent to form the rear. Besides, a strong detachment of hatchet-bearers was appointed to cut down trees and clear the road to Palámau. During the march, Dáúd erected at suitable places thánahs and garrisoned them. He advanced most cautiously, and passed during the first nine days over only 10 *kos*.

On the 9th Rabi' I., [3rd November, 1660], he reached Mauza' Narsí [Tarhasí], which lies 7 *kos* from Fort Palámau. The Rájah had during all this time repeated his futile proposals, and when Dáúd reached Narsí [Tarhasí], he was again waited on by Çúrat Singh,† the Rájah's minister, who promised unconditional submission. The vakíl especially addressed himself to Rájah Bihrúz, and begged him to intercede, proposing to pay one lac of Rupees as *peshkash*, and a present of 50,000 Rupees for Dáúd. The humility of the Rájah, and his urgent solicitations to obtain peace, made Dáúd so far favorably inclined to his proposal, that he sent a report thereof to court, suspending hostilities till the arrival of his Majesty's orders. During the armistice, the enemies intercepted a convoy at a place about 8 *kos* from the imperial camp; and though the

* The *tábinán* are the troops recruited by the Imperial mançabdars, for which they receive a *tuyúl*. They are opposed to the *Pádisháhí* troops, who form the standing army.

† Evidently the same as mentioned on p. 123. The name of the then Rájah is not given in the 'Alamgirnámah. Regarding Narsí *vide* below.

Rájah sent the vakíl to express his regret at the untoward event which, he said, had taken place without his knowledge and sanction, and tendered 50,000 Rupees as part payment of the stipulated *peshkash*, Dáúd thought it advisable to advance, left Tarhasí on the 8th Rabí' II., [1071, or 1st December, 1660] and pitched his camp at the foot of a hill, 3 *kos* distant from Palámau. On the 16th [9th December], he moved one *kos* nearer. The enemies then advanced from the fort, threw up earthworks, and occupied the trenches in large numbers.

About the same time, orders came from court: the Rájah was to embrace Islám, pay *peshkash*, and remain in possession of his country; if he refused, Dáúd was to annihilate him, destroy the forts, and annex the district. His Majesty's answer was then conveyed to the Rájah. Before he had replied, Tahawwur Khán, on the 24th Rabí' II., [17th December, 1660], unable to suppress his eagerness to fight, attacked the enemies without the knowledge and sanction of Dáúd Khán, and engaged them near their earth-works.

Dáúd was thus obliged to push forward, and advancing within the reach of the enemy's bullets, threw up earth-works and commenced a bombardment, which was continued till sunset. The fighting on both sides was obstinate. Tahawwur Khán, who was nearer to the enemies, had 16 men killed, and 50 men and many horses wounded, and retreated, towards evening, at Dáúd's orders, upon the centre. During the night, the enemies brought two large guns from the fort, placed them on the earth-works, and managed to kill several of our men and horses. The Rájah also sent a message to Dáúd to say that he refused to accept his Majesty's conditions. The fire of the enemies did in the meantime much damage, directed as it was from an eminence on Dáúd's trenches, which were much lower. He, therefore, occupied the hills which command the fort, threw up new earth-works, placed upon them several guns, and commenced a well directed cannonade.

On the 27th Rabí' II., [20th December, 1660] the enemies could no longer hold their trenches, retired nearer to the fort to the banks of the river, and threw up new earth-works. The space between their position and the imperial camp being overgrown with jungle, Dáúd for two or three days cut down the trees, and

having cleared a road, advanced against the enemies. Shaikh Tátár and Shaikh Ahmad, both sons of his brother, with troops of his contingent, several imperial Maṇṇabdárs, and the son of Rájah Bihruz with his followers and a detachment from Mirzá Khán's contingent, were placed on the left, and were ordered to attack the enemy from the passes; Shaikh Çafí with a division was sent to the right; and Dáúd Khán, Mirzá Khán, Tahawwur Khán, Rájah Bihruz, Abú Muslim, Sayyid Najábat, and several Maṇṇabdárs, formed the centro. The attack was simultaneously commenced on all three sides, and the ground was warmly contested till the second watch (midday). The enemy was repulsed on all points; many were shot and cut down, and others escaped. It had been Dáúd's original plan to occupy the trenches dug by the enemy; and commence a siege, but the soldiers could not check their fury, and rushing to the river,* they crossed it, and attacked the fortifications which surround the town (*shahrband*) at the foot of the fort. The enemies got bewildered and withdrew to the higher fort. The Rájah now sent his whole family and valuables to the jungles, and continued the defence. The imperialists in the meantime had taken the lower fortifications, and stood before the gate of the upper fort, where the fight raged till the first watch of the evening. Half a watch later, the Rájah fled to the jungles, when the whole fort was occupied by the victorious army.

The town was cleared of the 'filth of the existence of the infidels,' their idol temples were destroyed, and Islámitic prayer filled the place.

The loss of the Imperialists was 61 killed, and 177 wounded. Of the enemies a large number was slain and wounded, some escaped, and others were taken prisoners.

A few days later, it was reported that the enemies had assembled about Fort Deogan. Dáúd Khán despatched a division under Shaikh Çafí to retake the fort. On his arrival there, he laid siege to the place, and took it.

Dáúd remained for some time longer in the district, arranged financial matters, and fortified several strong places. He then

* The river Aurangá, a considerable mountain stream that joins the Koel at the Govt. village of Khetchki. Mr. Forbes tells me that the Dáúd's trenches are still in existence.

handed over the government to Mánklí Khán, who had been appointed by his Majesty Faujdár of Palámau, and returned to Patna.

*Page 673.** On the 15th Sha'bán [5th April, 1661], his Majesty inspected two elephants from the plunder of Palámau.

Page 973. On the removal of Manklí Khán, Palámau was placed under the immediate orders of Lashkar Khán, the now Qúbahdár of Bihár [Çafar, 1077, or August, 1666.]

Letter regarding the Mughul Invasions of Palámau, from L. R. FORBES, Esq., Extra Assist. Commissioner, Palámau. Communicated by COL. E. T. DALTON, C. S. I., COMMISSIONER, CHUTIA NAGPUR.

The traditions of the Cheros regarding the Muhammadan invasion are, I think, very hazy indeed. They all know about Dáúd Khán and his doings, but few can go back further. I have got the following from the oldest inhabitant, the old Mowár of Monátú, who speaks, he tells me, from what he heard from his own father and grandfather and from the great grandfather of our minor. He says that it was in Sháh Jahán's time, about 1034 or 35 Façlí, that 'Abdullah Khán first made demands upon the Palámau Rájahs. He was engaged at the time in settling matters with Pratáb Singh Ujjainiah, a Rájput chieftain who held considerable territory in Bhojpúr. Pratáb was a Rájput who had come from Ujjain, a town, some say the capital, of Málwá, hence he was called Pratáb Ujjainiah. 'Abdullah, though unable to come himself, sent Mu'azzam Khán, the Rájah of Dumráon in Sahausrám (Sasseram) forward as an advance guard, to clear the way and prepare a passage for 'Abdullah's troops. Mu'azzam Khán on getting to the small stream which lies at the foot of the Bhábulthán Ghát (i. e., the Monátú Ghát) was met by Rájah Ghulám Husain, the Rohilah chief of the Kot'hí fort and a rebel, a fight ensued, and Mu'azzam was killed. The field, or piece of land, on which he fell is called the Mu'azzam Khání-k'hot to this day. Mu'azzam Khán's force then returned.

* It should be p. 665. There is a mistake in the paging of the Bibl. Indica edition of the *'Alamgírnamah*, page 664 is followed by p. 673, but there is no lacuna.

The following year¹ the first invasion under Sháístah Khán actually took place. He approached the Parganah by the Monátú Ghát which he got through in safety, and marched direct on the Palámau Fort. The Mowár did not know the direction ; but as Ará is mentioned, it is very probable, he halted there, as it lies in the direct route, and would be a fair march from Monátú. From Ará they probably marched to the Báolícheroan, which is also mentioned, as this lies also in the direct road to the Fort, and is about four miles from there, a very convenient distance for the army to have halted. The Báolí, I may as well explain here, is a very old one indeed, lying about a quarter of a mile north of the Government village of Bukhorya. From the mango trees and other signs, there are evident traces of there having once been a considerable town there, tradition indeed speaks of the place as having once been a considerable market town, but I cannot find out whether it was then called Bukhorya, or had any other name. About two miles south of Bukhorya and close to the Chetmá Ghát near Sutburwa and on the Ráncí side lies the village (a Government farm) of Píprá, where there are the remains of an old Raksol Fort, which, from the quantity of stone and brick lying about, bears signs of having been *pucca*.

The Mowár, as I have told you, was not aware of the route Sháístah Khán took, but when I spoke to him of Ará and the Báolí he recollected that such was the case, in fact he it was that brought the Bukhorya Báolí to my recollection. I was at first inclined to think it was the Báolí on the Pátun Ghát, but that he says was built by a Mahájan.

There was not much of a fight, he says, when Sháístah Khán got the forts, as Pratáb very soon gave in and promised to pay tribute. Sháístah at first insisted on immediate payment, but was put off with faithful promises to send the whole by the end of the year, and so the Musalmán went away contented.

Then comes the second invasion under Zabardast Khán, which the Mowár relates exactly as in the histories. Durgá Rái and Tej Rái were Chero chiefs, who had come into the Parganah as chiefs in Bhagowant Rái's army. Bhagowant you will recollect was Pratáb's father. Both Tej and Durgá were connections of the

Rájahs, but not relatives.* They insist upon the old Kumáon story, and say that Durgá and Tej Rái had recently joined Bhagowant in Bhojpúr, before he set out for Palámau.

These two chiefs were discontented at the share of spoil that had fallen into their hands, and were at open rebellion with Pratáb, who was seeking to get rid of them as importunate customers. Zabardast Khán came at their invitation. The fort made over to him by them was the Deogan fort, the ruins of which are now to be seen on the Deogan Ghát. The fort is said to have been built by Bhárat Rái, a renowned border chieftain, more probably a bold and successful cattle-lifter. Zabardast Khan remained for some time at Deogan making his arrangements, and during that time the Chero rebels fell out among themselves, and to avenge himself Tej Rái determined to return to his allegiance to Pratáb Rái. Under the pretence of acting as scout and advance guard, he went forward and arranged ambuscades along the line of march, and the Muhammadan army was dreadfully cut up on the dangerous and long line of Gháts, which had to be traversed before the army could reach Mángarh† (*i. e.*, Tarhasí), which fort the Chero chiefs were under promise to deliver over to them. Tej Rái had, however, prepared the chief in the Fort, and there was a very tough fight before the fort was taken.

From there, Sháistah Khán marched to Bári, where he occupied the small fort there. Pratáb Rái then offered terms which were not accepted, so he was carried off a prisoner to Dihlí, where he eventually died.

Up to this time, notwithstanding two invasions, the Muhammadans had exacted nothing but promises from the Rájahs, and so it went on for twenty years longer. Each year the demand was made by the Muhammadan Sirdár and yearly the Palámauites laughed in their faces, and the border chiefs went on depredating the royal territories in Bihár and carrying off cattle as before.

* This differs from the account in *Pádisháhnámah*, which calls Pratáb the son of Balbhádra, and Tej Rái and Durgá Rái uncles of Pratáb; *vide* above pp. 118, 122. THE EDITOR.

† Mángarh Tarhasí. The Fort was built by Mán Singh, a Raksel, and taken possession of by the Cheros under Bhárat Rái.

The *'Alamgirnámah* (Edit. Bibl. Indica, p. 653) has نرسی, evidently a blunder for نرھسی, Tarhasí, which Mr. Forbes gives. For *Argá*, the *Pádisháhnámah* has *Arú*, and *Báolí-chewan* for *Báolíchewan*.—THE EDITOR.

About 1054-55, Façlí, the third invasion occurred under the famous general Dáúd Khán. This invasion was the result of a very sharp reprimand from the Emperor and threats of removal from office, if the Palámau Rájahs were not made to pay. Dáúd Khán was then at Dáúdnagar. He marched suddenly down upon the Rohilah fort of Koṭhí in Tappah Koṭhí, Parganah Sherg'háṭi, and took it; from there he marched to Kundah Fort in Parganah Kundah, Zil'ah Hazírábágh, which he took after a considerable show of resistance. Remaining there some time, Dáúd Khán marched to Tarhasí (i. e., Mángarh). The fort was now no longer in existence. There the Rájah, Anant Rái, offered terms, but Dáúd Khán would listen to nothing short of abject submission, and the only grounds upon which the Rájah would be allowed to hold power were on the condition that he turned Muhammadan, and paid down a certain sum annually; otherwise the Rájah was to be dethroned and dispossessed, and all strongholds demolished. The same terms were offered to the Kundah Rájah. The Palámau chief indignantly refused such degrading terms, and preferred to fight the matter out, but the Kundah chief Chun Sáí* did actually turn Muhammadan and was rewarded by receiving a *lákhiráj* Pádisháhi Sanad.

The Palámau chiefs resisted as long and as ably as they could, but were soon compelled to withdraw to their forts, which they eventually surrendered. The Rájah fled to Sirgújah, and Manklí Khán was appointed Faujdár and lived over three years in the Fort, where he built the small Masjid, now to be seen inside the old Fort. Dáúd Khán, when leaving the Parganah, carried off with him the great gates of the Fort, known as the *Sing Darwázah* and the pride of the Cheros.

The gates now adorn Dáúd Khán's old palace in Dáúdnagar.

Mr. Peppe speaks of a picture or fresco, I think, which he told me is now to be seen in Dáúdnagar, or somewhere there, representing the taking of the Palámau Forts, in which the costumes are very well hit off, the Palámau chiefs and their army, if I recollect right, are drawn as hill men with bows and arrows. If you

* Chun Sáí did not long survive his pusillanimous apostasy. At the instigation of the Palámau Rájah he was murdered 15 days later by his brother Súrwar Sáí.

like, I could get a Gayá artist to make a facsimile of the picture—they draw very well, I hear; the cost would be trifling and the picture I think would make an excellent and interesting frontispiece to any report you may be writing.

Have you ever heard the legend of the piece of a broken cannon, evidently the part of a gun used by the Muhammadans during the siege of Mángarh. It went by the name of Top Sáí, and was said to travel of its own accord from village to village and then return to the Fort. The people did 'pújá' to it, and streaked it with *sindúr*. One of Thompson's surveyors carried it off to Hazáribágh.

Note on the Death of Humáyún.—By C. J. RODGERS, Esq., UMRITSIR.

On my last visit to Dillí, I went again to the Sher Mandál in the Puráná Qil'ah, in order to verify Marshman and Elphinstone's account of Humáyún's death. When I returned, I looked to see what Firishtah and the Siyar ul Mutaakhkharín said of the affair. I send a free translation of the two, and confront Marshman, Elphinstone, and Murray with these accounts.

There is no more marble in the Shor Mandál than there is *red granite* in the fort of Sháhjahánábád, Heber, Thornton, and Ansted notwithstanding. There is no sign of marble having been present in the building. It is not much the worse for wear. Part of the parapet is gone, and that is nearly all the damage that has been caused by 300 years.

Elphinstone's Account.

"Humáyún had been walking on the terrace of his library, and was descending the stairs (which, in such situations, are narrow steps on the outside of the building, and only guarded by an ornamental parapet about a foot high). Hearing the call to prayers from the minarets, he stopped, as is usual on such occasions, repeated the creed, and sat down on the steps till the crier had done. He then endeavoured to rise, supporting himself on his staff: the staff slipped on the polished marble of the steps, and the king fell headlong over the parapet. He was stunned at the

time, and although he recovered his senses, the injury he had received was beyond cure. On the fourth day after his accident, he expired."

"Marashman's Account.

"Six months after he had entered Delhi, while descending the steps of his library, he heard the muazzin's call to prayer, and stopped to repeat the creed, and sat down. As he endeavoured to rise, leaning on his staff, it slipped on the polished steps, and he fell over the parapet, and four days after closed his chequered life."

Murray's Account.

"In less than a year after (his return to Delhi), descending the marble stairs of the palace, he fell, and was so severely bruised, that he expired in a few days."

Firishtah's Account.

"On the seventh of that month (ربيع الأول), near the time of the setting of the sun, he who is now housed in paradise, coming on the roof of his library, sat down for a moment. And at the time of going down (from the roof), he suddenly heard the voice of the man calling to prayer. His Majesty, in order to show reverence and to answer the call, sat on the second step, and at the time of finishing the prayer, leaning on his stick, he wished to stand up. The stick slipped, went away from him, and the king falling from the stairs came on the ground. When his courtiers, being astounded, brought his Majesty senseless into the *daulat-khánah*, he after awhile revived and began to speak. The physicians busied themselves in devising remedies, which were however useless. On the eleventh of the same month, at the time of the setting of the sun, he took his flight to his holy resting-place."

Account given in the Siyar ul Mutaakhkharín.

"Humáyún had a knowledge of astrology and greatly desired to study the planets. One day there was a conjecture that Venus would rise somewhat late. In the evening, in order that he might see that planet, he went on to the top of the roof of his library. There standing for a moment, he wished to descend. The muazzin

called to prayers. He (Humáyún), in order to show respect to the *azán*, desired to sit down on the second step. The steps of the staircase, by reason of their cleanliness, were very slippery. The ferrula of his staff slipped, and Humáyún falling headlong, rolled down-stairs on to the ground. His limbs and joints were much hurt, and the right side of his head had received a great blow. He became altogether insensible. Although physicians and doctors attended him, no good came of it."

The library alluded to in these passages is, as is well known, the Sher Mandal in the Puráná Qil'ah at Dihlí. This building is octagonal, of two stories in height, with lower story solid. It is ascended by two flights of stairs. These two staircases are *in the inside of the walls* of the upper story. The steps are of granite roughly hewn, very narrow and very high. Wherever an angle



occurs the steps are shaped thus, making the staircase still more dangerous. Use has polished them somewhat. But in Humáyún's time, the building was nearly new, as it was built by Sher Sháh. The roof of the second story is surrounded by a thick parapet of red stone. On the roof is an octagonal cupola with a base much smaller than the roof. The stairs come up on both sides of the cupola in the space intervening between it and the parapet. Both Firishtah and the Siyar ul Mutaakhkharín agree that Humáyún was on the second step when he fell. Hence to fall over the parapet would be impossible. But it would not be impossible for him to fall down the first flight of stairs, and then, at the bottom of them, fall from the first story down to the ground. Both these authorities say that he did get to the ground. There is no defence whatever round the first story; so it would be almost impossible to stop himself. Had he fallen from the roof at once on to the ground, he would have been killed instantaneously. The spot is shown where he did fall over the parapet. But a survey of that spot makes Humáyún a suicide. Elphinstone's account is altogether wrong. There is no marble in the building. It is built of granite and red sandstone and is mortered after the fashion of buildings of that time.

The mosque is a stone's throw from the library. One flight of stairs is in the same direction as the mosque. Firishtah says, he fell as he was wishing to stand up, and the *Siyar* has it that he fell as he was wishing to sit down. Neither mentions the marble of Murray and Elphinstone, or the parapet in Marshman and Elphinstone.

I have not '*Humayun's Memoirs*' to refer to. But a study of the building shows, how impossible it would be for the accounts in Elphinstone, Marshman, and Murray to be correct. The stairs are so far from the parapet, that were a person to fall, his head would barely reach the parapet inside. But when he was sitting on the second step and desiring to rise, if he slipped, he undoubtedly went down stairs.

NOTE BY THE EDITOR.

I annex a translation of the passages regarding Humáyún's death, as given in the *Akbarnámah*, *Badáoní*, the *Tabaqát i Akbarí*, the *Mir-át ul 'Álam*, and *Kháfi Khán*.

From the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow edition, I., 436.)

After stating that Humáyún for several days previous to his fall had a presentiment of his death, and that in consequence, he had decreased the daily quantity of opium, to which he was much addicted, Abulfazl says—

"In the beginning of the evening he wished to go down. When he was on the second staircase (*zínah*), a Muazzin of the name of Miskín called the *azán*, though properly speaking it was not the time for it. From motives of reverence his Majesty wished to sit down. The steps (*daraját i zínah*) are sharp (*tez*), and the stones were shaky; and in the act of sitting down the foot got entangled in the hem of the *postín*, the staff slipped, and his Majesty fell forward. He was severely injured on his right temple, and several drops of blood oozed from his right ear, &c."

Badáoní's Account (Edition, Bibl. Indica, I., 465.)

"On the 7th Rabi' I, 963, the king was on the roof of the library which he had made in Fort Dín Panáh. At the time of descending, a Muazzin called to prayer, and from reverence the king sat down. When he rose, his stick slipped, he fell, and he rolled down several steps to the ground. He died on the 15th."

From the Tabaqāt i Akbari (MS., A. S. Bengal, p. 438.)

"At the time of evening on the same day, the Muazzin called to prayer. His Majesty was on the second staircase (or step, *zinah*) and reverently sat down. When he got up, his foot slipped, he lost his hold of the staircase (*nardubán*) and fell to the ground."

From the Mir-át ul 'Alam.

This work states that Shaikh Choli (Badáoní, *Folí*) was sent to Akbar at Kalánúr with a farmán written in Humáyún's name, the contents of which were as follows:—

"On that day I descended from the roof of my Masjid. In the middle of the staircase (*ba miyán i zinahá*) I heard the Azán, and sat down from motives of respect. When the Azán was over, I rose. But the end of my stick had got into the hem of my coat (*jámah*), I slipped, and fell down. The corner (*goshah*) of the staircase struck against my lower ear (*bundgosh*), and several drops of blood issued from my ear. I was insensible for some time. When I recovered my consciousness, I passed on to the *daulat khánah*. It is all well now, do not feel anxious about me."

"Soon after, the news also of his death on the 7th Rabi' I arrived."

Kháfi Khán's Account (Ed. Bibl. Indica, I., 124.)

Kháfi Khán is no trustworthy authority, and his account is worthless. He says—

"On the 5th Rabi' I, of the said year (963), he wished to descend from his pigeon house (*kabútar-khánah*), in order to listen to the azán; but he slipped and fell down from high staircases (*zínahái baland*), and died on the 11th."

There is much discrepancy in the histories regarding the exact days of the fall and the death of Humáyún.

Day of the fall. *Day of H.'s death.*

Акбарнамаһ,	Friday of Rabi' I.	
Firishtah,	7th Rabi' I.	11th Rabi' I.
Stewart's Memoirs of Humáyún (p. 120).		11th Do.
Badáoní,	7th Do.	15th* Do.
Mi-rát ul 'Alam,		7th Do.

* This may be a mistake of the editor. MSS. continually confound *باردهم* *yázdúhum*, 11th, and *پانزدهم* *pánzduhum*, 15th.

Pádisháhnámah (I, p. 65),	13th (a Sunday), Do.
Kháfí Khán,	5th Rabí' I.	11th, Do.
Maásir ul Umará,	7th, Do.	

According to Prinsep's Useful Tables, the year 963 A. H. commenced on Saturday, 16th November, 1553. The 7th Rabí' I, 963, would therefore correspond to the 66th day from the 16th November 1555, *i. e.* to the 20th January, 1556, which would be a Monday. We have to bear in mind that Monday, the 7th Rabí' I, commenced at 6 o'clock Sunday evening, 19th January, 1556. The 13th Rabí' I, the date of H.'s death, according to the *Pádisháhnámah*, is certainly a Sunday, and this may be looked upon as the correct day, especially as the author of the *Pádisháhnámah* has taken so much trouble to settle the chronology of the reigns of the Timurides up to Sháhjahán. A perusal of the beginning chapters of that work is strongly recommended to historians.

Kháfí Khán's *kabútar-khánah* is either a blunder of the editors or the author has confounded Humáyún's death with that of 'Umar Shaikh Mírzá, Bábar's father, who died on the 4th Ramazán, 899, at Akhsíkat in Fargánah, from a fall from the pigeon house, on which he stood flying pigeons.

Legends and Ballads connected with persons deified or held in great veneration in Bhágalpúr and the neighbouring districts (being extracts from Diaries).—By BABU RASHBIHA'RI BOSE, BANKA, BHÁ'GALPU'R.

I.—The Legend of Dubé Bhairan.

Nowhere, as far as I know, does demon worship prevail in Bengal. But in this district, every village has its own demon who is propitiated by offerings made at the foot of a tree where he is supposed to reside. Belief in demons or ghosts is almost as prevalent in Bengal as it is in this district; but if annoyances are caused by them, the gods are invoked or exorcisms are practised in

the former to expel them from the haunted house, while in the latter they are propitiated by presents and their blessings asked in case of difficulty or danger. Demon worship is not prevalent in all Bihár, and its presence in the few districts in which it exists, is probably owing to the close vicinity of the Kols.

The most powerful of these demons is believed to be *Dube Bhairan* who is extensively worshipped in this district. In various places throughout this Sub-Division, may be seen the altar of Dube Bhairan, where not only offerings are made to him in case of disease, or on the occasion of the birth of a son supposed to be obtained through his favour, but all people bitten by snakes are conveyed to his altar for the purpose of cure, which is effected by simply pouring water over the patient. He seems to have played an important part in the history of this province. Indeed it is Dube Bhairan who is supposed to have brought about a change in the dynasty by exterminating the race of Khetaurís which formerly ruled Bihár, and transferring the sovereignty to the solar race of the Kendawár family of which the Rájah of Kharakpúr was a representative.

The following legend is every where related regarding this demon.

Dube Bhairan was an astrologer invited to the court of the Khetaurí Rájah, named Birmá, to foretell future events,—an art which was greatly patronised by the Indian Rájahs at the time of Hindu decadence. After consulting the stars, he had built his dwelling on an auspicious spot near Birmá's palace at Dadrí in Munger (Monghyr), but the superstitious Rájah being anxious to appropriate to himself the benefits that were inseparable from the lot of the man who owned the place, asked Bhairan to give it up to him, but in vain. However, taking advantage of his absence from home, the latter pulled down one of his cottages, and built a wall at the place so as to enclose the ground within the limits of his palace. When Bhairan returned, his mother wept and pointed out the mischief that had been done. At this, he flew into a terrible rage, and snatching a knife, plunged it into his own abdomen, and threw the flowing blood over the Rájah's palace, which instantly blazed with fire and was reduced to ashes. Bhairan had a virgin cow from which he drew some milk for drink a little

before his death. The milk issuing from the wound ran in one stream while the blood flowed in another, creating two rivers in their course. The white and red waters of these rivers are still pointed out in proof of the miracle. The four wooden legs of the cot on which he breathed his last, shot forth branches and have grown into large trees that may still be seen at the place.

The Rájah fled from the palace, but the ghost of Bhairan followed him wherever he went. Finding no place safe from the vengeance of the offended demon, Birmá fled at last to Deoghar to seek for shelter in the great temple of Baijnáth. But the demon appeared before the deity himself at his abode in Mount Kailás, to demand the surrender of the Rájah. So potent was the wrath of the Bráhmaṇ demon, that the mount began to shake over the famous trident, on which the deity has fixed it, in order to make it more secure against earthquakes and other accidents to which this globe is subject. His wife, Parbatí, became alarmed, but the deity told her to appease the demon by treating him as her brother. She accordingly approached like a hospitable and good Hindu lady with a *lotá* of water in hand, and invited the demon to come and wash his feet, saying "Welcome hither, Baijnáth junior." At this the demon became appeased, when the god assured him that he had not succoured Birmá in his temple, and that Bhairan was welcome to deal with his victim in the way he pleased. At the same time the omnipresent deity told Birmá at Deoghar to go and seek for shelter in the Mundar, the place of Modhusudun. The unfortunate Rájah accordingly went to the Mundar, and thence wandered over various sacred places till he was killed at the top of Tirpahár,—crushed under the weight of a huge stone hurled at him by the ghost of Bhairan's servant Rájú Khawás.

The ghost of Dube Bhairan pursued the remaining Rájahs of the Khetaurí race and all that bore his name with unrelenting hatred, till not a soul of this large but ill-fated family was left upon earth. There were fifty-two independent Khetaurí Rájahs holding sway in different parts of Bihár, just before the Muhammadan conquest of the country, but at the present time there are only four Rájahs, such as those of Bárkop, Maháganoyá, and Manihári in sub-division Goddá, and Hanruá in sub-division Dumká,

who claim to be descended from that race, but even these are not recognized as coming from the genuine stock.

In accordance with the above legend, Bhairan is considered as only second to the great Baijnāth at Deoghar. His servant Rájú Khawás, who is said to have committed suicide on the death-bed of his master, is equally worshipped with him. The animal sacrifices which Bhairan, as a Bráhmaṇ, would not accept, are offered to his servant, while rice and sweetmeats are the share of the master.

At Dadrí, where the officiating priest invokes the demon, the latter is supposed to take possession of him, and he speaks like one inspired. The power of nominating this priest rests in the family of Teknaráin Sing, the present zamíndár of Ch'hat'hár. The reason is, his ancestor and Dube Bhairan emigrated to these parts from the same locality in the Upper Provinces, and according to the good old custom which prevailed in the mother-country, the former, though a Rájput, performed the funeral obsequies of the latter who was a Bráhmaṇ. In consequence of this, the ghost used to take possession of him, and, as usual with evil spirits, to commit many depredations at his house. He thought it therefore more convenient to transfer the unenvied privilege to a Bráhmaṇ.

II.—The Ballad of Lurik.

There is a Gwálá, or milkman, deified in the district of Bhágalpúr. He is particularly worshipped by the people of his caste, but generally occupies a high place in the veneration of all the lower classes in the district. They make him offerings of rice and milk for the recovery of cattle they may happen to lose. There is a temple dedicated to him at Hardi in the Madhepúra sub-division, where he is believed to have reigned for twelve years. He is the subject of a long ballad which is sung throughout the length and breadth of Bihār. The ballad is important as throwing some light on the belief, manners, and customs of the age to which it relates, and as shewing the large number of small independent principalities into which the country was divided at the time,—a circumstance which made it an easy prey to the Muhammadan invaders. These little kingdoms or principalities appear to have

been governed by sovereigns of the lowest castes, such as Dosád, Gwálás, goldsmiths, palki bearers, &c. Whether they are the ancestors of the present rájahs and zamíndárs, most of whom are generally suspected to have surreptitiously assumed the title of Rájputís, it is difficult to say.

The ballad is very long. How so many manage to commit it to memory is not a little marvellous. I will abbreviate it as much as possible without omitting peculiarities of manners and customs of the period which it records.

Lurik who belonged to the Gwálá caste, was a giant in strength and courage. He was a native of Gaur and was a favourite of the goddess Durgá. One morning at day-break, his wife Mánjar accidentally sees him dallying with the daughter of the Rájah of his native village, named Sahadeb Máhára, a bearer by caste. Mánjar being versed in astrology, consults her books, and learns therefrom that Lurik is to run away with the Rájah's daughter on that very night. While she washes his feet on his return home, she sheds some unconscious tears on his legs, and is asked the cause thereof. She replies that her tears and smiles cannot affect him, when his heart lies enchained at the feet of his mistress. She tells her mother-in-law the misfortune that is to overtake the family that night, and requests her to defer the time for supper by pounding the rice again and again, and preparing a large number of dishes. A considerable portion of the night is passed in this way, and nearly at day-break the family retire to rest, when the wife binds Lurik in her own clothes, and the mother spreads her bed so as to bar the only outlet from the cottage. According to previous arrangement, the Rájah's daughter, named Chánáin, comes out of the palace bearing in her hand a *patara* full of jewels and coins; and not finding Lurik under the large tree where they had agreed to meet, marks it with five red spots, and advancing a few steps, calls on Durgá for aid. The goddess promises to bring Lurik and to prolong the night seven times if it be necessary for the purpose. The goddess calls at his house, and tells him to join his mistress without delay, but he pleads his inability to do so, owing to the precautions taken by his wife and mother. Durgá unties all the knots with which he has been bound in the arms of his wife, and after separ-

ating the *chhappas*, delivers him through the opening thus caused. Lurik is, however, very anxious for his virtuous wife, and therefore makes the family over to the care of an intimate friend, though burning with jealousy at the opportunities he will thus enjoy of gaining over her affections. The lovers meet at last, and start for Hardi. On the way, the Rájah's daughter refuses to take the food out of Lurik's dishes unless he consents to make her his wife. After some hesitation, Lurik affixes some *sindúr* on her forehead, and the marriage ceremony is performed by Durgá herself, assisted by her seven sisters. When the lovers arrive at the place where Lurik's younger brother keeps a million of cattle, Lurik is extremely anxious to bid him farewell. Leaving Chánáin near a hedge, he approaches his brother, but is accused of running away with another man's wife. He denies the truth of the charge, at which his brother throws a club at the hedge which carries off the *patara* placed to protect Chánáin, while a second club thrown by the same powerful hand scatters her knotted hair to the wind. The mistress is then introduced weeping, after which, according to custom, Lurik's younger brother jests with her. The brother, being tired, falls asleep on a portion of his sister-in-law's *sárhí* spread by her to receive his body, while she lays his head down upon her lap. When he becomes insensible, Chánáin departs with her lover after thrusting a piece of stone under her brother-in-law's head, and after separating the remaining portion of her *sárhí* with a pair of scissors. On the next day, the pair is pursued by the attendants and soldiers of the Rájah and of his son-in-law, the first husband of Chánáin. Magic fire-works are hurled by the disconsolate husband which overtake Chánáin across the Ganges, but they fall harmless when coming in contact with the corner of her cloth spread by her with an invocation to the deity to protect her in consideration of several years of her youth having been passed away in vain expectation of her first husband. Lurik valiantly refuses to take shelter under her cloth, but by some mysterious process ascends the sky to save himself from the fire-arms of an injured and infuriated husband. After effecting their flight, they repose under the shade of a tree, where Chánáin dies from the sting of a serpent.

Lurik becomes extremely disconsolate, and erecting a funeral pile and setting fire to it, sits on it with Chánáin in his arms. The fire is extinguished, is again kindled, and again extinguished, and so on for several times. The "universe trembles to the throne of god," the gods sit in debate, and the cause is ascribed to the strange phenomenon of a husband offering to die on his wife's funeral pile rather than a wife dying, as usual, on the funeral pile of her husband. A goddess is sent to earth. Assuming the shape of an old woman, she approaches the pile, and tells Lurik to desist, but finding him obstinate, offers to revive the dead. The corpse is replaced on the bed; the serpent is summoned; obeys and sucks its own poison from the wounds; Chánáin is restored to life, and the serpent is killed. As if waking from a dream, she wants to drink water from a neighbouring tank called Bihiá belonging to a Dosád Rájah, where a heavy tax is levied either in money or in kind. Chánáin puts Rs. 200 on the bank, and descends to the pond, but the guide, being smitten with her beauty, demands the possession of her charms as the price of the water. She replies that being the daughter of a Rájah, she is not used to sleep except on a high raised bed. The infatuated guide ascends a tree to erect a bedstead over the branches, but while he is busily engaged in the task, the fair one quenches her thirst at the tank, and runs away. She is, however, pursued and overtaken, when she sends away the guide to bring a new cot and a new carpet, with a promise to gratify his desires. When the guide goes to his master to ask the articles so required, Chánáin joins her husband and complains of the indignity offered her. On his return, the guide, instead of the lady's love, meets with hard blows from her husband, who knocks out his teeth, cuts off his nose, clips his ears, and then sends him back to his master. The women of the village through which he passes, rejoice at the vengeance which has at last overtaken his numerous evil deeds. On arriving at the palace, he induces the Rájah to set out with his army, by assuring him that the pretty faces of his seven Ránis are inferior even to the beauty of Chánáin's handsome feet. A battle ensues, but through the favour of Durgá, Lurik is victorious.

When they come near Rohini, where Mahápátíá, a goldsmith

by caste, used to feign, they are surrounded by the Rájah's attendants, who invite Lurik to a gambling match at the palace. The Rájah is a great cheat, and by means of loaded dice, continues to make Lurik stake and lose everything he owned, including his beautiful wife whom the Rájah coveted more than anything else. But Chánáin refuses to submit, alleging that she being Lurik's mistress, and not his wife, he cannot dispose of her person, and that she will only yield if she is herself vanquished in play. The play begins; Chánáin throws away the dice as unfair; takes new dice, and one by one gains every thing the Rájah owned. The Rájah then runs away, but is overtaken and killed.

From Rohini the travellers reach Hardí, the place of their destination. Lurik is introduced to the Rájah by a relation and friend, but the Rájah is incensed at his omission to bow to him, and will not allow him a place in his capital unless he accepts the occupation of a cowherd. Lurik indignantly replies that he would only turn a cowherd if the Rájah's daughter came out herself to milk the cows. A battle ensues which lasts for seven days and seven nights, and ends in the slaughter of the immense hosts of the Rájah, a result attributed to the goddess whose favour Chánáin obtains by offering to sacrifice her first-born. The Rájah now consents to give half his dominions to Lurik in case he succeeds in bringing the head of his antagonist, the Rájah of Hanrwá. This he undertakes to do. Mounting a horse which Chánáin selects from the Rájah's stable, Lurik marches alone to Hanrwá, gives battle, slaughters immense hosts, but is subsequently entrapped in a magic net called *Mahápúsh*. By the advice and aid of a fellow countryman, he, however, escapes from the net, and after killing the Rájah, places his son, still a minor, on the throne. The Ránís endeavour to poison Lurik, but he avoids the snares laid for him, and refuses to touch any food at the palace, though he is constrained to promise aid in case the infant Rájah be attacked by a third party. He returns to Hardí, and on presenting the head of the Rájah of Hanrwá, is proclaimed joint-king of Hardí.

A short time only elapses, when the Rájah of Kolápúr having attacked the infant Rájah of Hanrwá, and taken him prisoner,

Lurik is invited to fulfil his promise. When he reaches Kolá-púr alone on horseback, the Rájah comes in the disguise of a barber and asks for permission to shave him. Seeing the counterfeit barber perform his work very clumsily, Lurik chides him, but is instantly bound with ropes, and then conveyed a prisoner to the palace, where he is treated and fed as a goat prepared for sacrifice to Durgá. The goddess tells the Rájah to wait, and advises him to feed the goat well till the great Daserá day, when she would come to accept the sacrifice. The horse returns to Hardí without the rider, when Chánáin becoming aware of the misfortune that has befallen her husband, raises her sword to strike off the head of her new born son as a sacrifice to the goddess long ago promised. The blow is arrested by the goddess herself, who undertakes to deliver her husband, considering the sacrifice as having been actually made and accepted. She takes Chánáin with her to Kolá-púr on the Daserá day, when the Rájah brings Lurik before her, and tells him to graze like a goat before the sacrifice is made. By Chánáin's advice, Lurik pleads his inability, through ignorance, and asks the Rájah to show him how to do it. As the Rájah bends down for the purpose, glances between the lovers are exchanged; the goddess's sword is snatched from her hand, and, wielded by Lurik's powerful hand, descends like a thunderbolt; and the Rájah's head, severed from his shoulders, rolls over the feet of the goddess as a sacrifice.

The lovers depart, but in the midst of the way, Lurik complains of hunger, and Chánáin, unwashed though she was after childbirth, sits down to cook the food. But Lurik's wife, Mánjur, at Gaur learns all these things from her astrological books, and knowing that her husband will lose his strength if he takes such polluted food, works miracles by her chastity, and creates three *Larus* on the corner of his cloth. When Lurik performs the morning ablutions, he discovers the *Larus*, with the half of which he satisfies his appetite. On returning to Chánáin, he is congratulated by her on the extraordinary beauty imparted to his person by the *Larus*. Taking offence at what appears to him as an unseasonable jest, he overturns the pot in which the food is being cooked, and thus unwittingly fulfils his chaste wife's earnest wish.

Before returning to Hardí, Lurik learns of the uncommon strength and prowess of the Rájah of Pál Piprí, and feels anxious to test the same. In spite of the remonstrances of Chánáin, he marches to that place, followed by herself. Gigantic and ferocious beasts are sent to encounter them, one of which is killed by a stone thrown by Chánáin with the strength inspired by the remains of the three *Larus* which she had eaten. After much suffering and trouble, they succeed at last in their object, and return to Hardí. Here they pass twelve years. One night Lurik happens to hear a woman weep near his palace, and asks his mistress to enquire into the cause. As she goes out for the purpose, she is followed unseen by her lover. In reply to Chánáin's inquiries, the old woman says that her tears have been excited by the meals she has been accumulating for three days in the vain expectation of her son's return from a journey. Fearing that this story will make Lurik anxious to return home to his wife and mother, Chánáin advises the woman to complain falsely of ill-treatment to account for her tears if questioned by Lurik on the subject, and on her return to the room, speaks to the same effect. But Lurik, who has overheard everything, accuses her of falsehood, and says that if three days' absence of a son on duty can make a mother weep so much, his own mother and wife must have shed many tears during the twelve years of his self-imposed exile from home. This reflection works so powerfully on his mind, that he instantly departs for home, accompanied by his beautiful mistress, whose residence he fixes in the neighbourhood.

III. *The Ballad of Laiká.*

There is another local ballad which is as extensively sung in this and the neighbouring districts as that of Lurik. It evidently depicts the manners and customs of a later period when all settled forms of government having been overturned by the Muhammadan invasion, every wealthy man considered himself independent and carried on war against his neighbours for real or supposed injuries. The ballad runs as follows:—

The heroine is the daughter of a Teli, or Vilman, residing at

Maghá-Munger, in the district of Munger. Having just reached the age of puberty, she learns with grief that her husband, a resident of Mádhapúr in the same district, is about to set out with seven hundred laden bullocks on a commercial expedition, from which he is not likely to return for twelve years. She bewails her hard fate, and with tears entreats her father to celebrate the 'Gahoná,' a ceremony sometimes performed long after the marriage, when the bridegroom takes his bride home for the enjoyment of conjugal happiness. Her father calls at the house of his son-in-law, and demands that the ceremony should be gone through before he sets out on his long journey. Laiká, for so the son-in-law is named, is extremely vexed, and putting a handful of mustard seed into his father-in-law's palm, tells him to return and to be ready to receive as many men as there are seeds in his hand, with whom he threatens to call at his house on the day of the ceremony. The man returns home, weeping all way and cursing his daughter for the expense with which he is threatened and for the ill name he was to bear from inability to incur the same. His daughter, who is called Báritriá, however, assures him that her husband will come only accompanied by four bearers, and no one else. Of course her prophecy is disbelieved, and her father makes extensive preparations to receive the party. But on the day of the ceremony, Laiká comes in a pálkí borne on the shoulders of four bearers. The father-in-law repeatedly looks behind for hours and hours expecting more attendants, but none appear. When the ceremony is over, he lays heaps of gold and silver articles for his son-in-law's acceptance, but by the advice of Báritriá, he would not accept anything except a parrot and a Talingá bullock, which are believed to possess extraordinary virtues. The father-in-law unable, according to custom, to deny what his son-in-law wants, curses his daughter for suggesting such a request. Laiká returns home, taking his beautiful and virtuous wife with him, but instead of retiring to her apartment, immediately sets out on his expedition. Báritriá weeps, reminds him of her youth, threatens him with her infamy, but all to no purpose. After he had proceeded four days' journey, the parrot informs him that the time was so propitious,* that a son conceived that night, would shed

pearls when weeping, and diamonds when smiling, and therefore advises him to go to his wife offering to carry him on its wings. He obeys, and is brought back to the door of his wife's chamber. She being awakened, refuses him admittance, though he professes that he has no other object in seeking her chamber than to take his turban which he had left behind by mistake. She consents at last to admit him, if his mother and sister are made aware of the circumstance, so that no infamy might attach to her name. But Laiká says he was ashamed to wake his mother and sister, in order to enter his wife's chamber at that time of night, when he was believed to be far off from home. Bárítriá suggests that his brother at any rate might be informed of the circumstance. Finding it impossible to prevail on her to open the door on other terms, Laiká wakes his younger brother Chaturguniá, and tells him that he had returned to take back his turban which he had left in his wife's room, but his wife would not believe him unless a witness attested his identity. The brother intercedes, the door is thrown open, Laiká is admitted, but cannot approach his wife till he has promised to abandon his expedition and to stay at home. At dawn, however, the parrot wakes him and reminds him of his duty, at which he again sets out on his expedition and rejoins his bullocks, his short but unexpected visit remaining unknown to the other members of the family. Nine months elapse when Laiká's sister suspecting Bárítriá to be with child, takes her to fetch water; then handing her the well-rope, desires her to lift water from the well instead of doing it herself as she used to do before. Bárítriá obeys with fear and trembling but her waist-band is broken in the attempt. The sister informs her mother, but the latter indignantly refuses to believe in the infamy of one who is known to be exemplarily chaste. She consents, however, to subject her to a test. For this purpose, she gives her $2\frac{1}{2}$ seers of *dhán* to be pounded into rice. Bárítriá attempts the feat, but is covered with shame and confusion at her failure. Her mother-in-law beats her, when her brother-in-law having tried to defend her by relating the particulars of Laiká's unexpected visit to her chamber at night, is accused of adultery. Her ill-treatment brings on the pain of delivery, but even the midwife of the family refuses to assist in

the confinement of an infamous woman. She gives birth to a male child, which, during her state of unconsciousness, is carried away by her mother-in-law and thrown into the oven of a potter, so that the infamy of the family might not be known. When she recovers her senses, she misses her child and runs distracted from her room, in order to seek it outside; but several thieves who were waiting, being struck by her beauty, carry her away. When they discover who she is, they are afraid of the vengeance of so powerful a family, and run away, leaving her in a jungle. There she accidentally encounters the husband of Laiká's sister, who not knowing who she is, brings her to his own village, but being afraid, for the sake of her reputation, to shelter so beautiful a woman under his own roof, builds a sarái where she dispenses charities to the poor.

While these misfortunes happen at home, the Talingá bullock with Laiká grows restive, and breaking its chain, runs homeward, followed by the other bullocks, and at last by the master who apprehends some misfortune. In due course, the animal arrives at the sarái, and meeting with its beloved mistress, sheds tears over her face. At night, she is, as an act of piety, desired by her protector to rub oil over the traveller's legs. She does so, but cannot stop her fast falling tears when engaged in the operation. This attracts the traveller's notice, when being pressed, she throws off her veil and chides him for not knowing his own wife. An explanation ensues. Fired with indignation, Laiká marches home to wreak his vengeance over his wife's persecutors, but takes care to keep her concealed in a *patora*. As soon as he arrives, his mother comes with a *lotá* of water to wash his feet, but the Talingá bullock throws her down on the ground. While she demands the cause of this treatment, her son asks her why he misses in the house the image of his beautiful and virtuous wife. His mother assures him that she was unworthy of him, tells him what had happened, and boasts of having banished her from the house. Laiká inveighs against her injustice and cruelty; his wife in the *patora* reiterates the charge; and at last the mother dies broken-hearted. The child is recovered from the potter who has brought it up as his own. But in the midst of these rejoicings, a sudden

misfortune befalls the ill-fated couple. The nephew of Baritriá marches with seven hundred men to obtain the parrot and Talingá bullock. A battle ensues on the banks of the Geruá, where Laiká is killed. His death is, however, avenged by his widow, who having slain his nephew in battle, burnt his body as well as that of her husband on the funeral pile which she had erected on the banks of the river.

An Account of the Antiquities of Jájpur in Orisá.—By BA'BU CHANDRA-S'EKHARA BANURJÍ, Deputy Magistrate, Tamliuk.

The following short account of Jájpur was written just before I left Orisá. Although several valuable papers have already been written on the antiquities of the place, there yet remains much to be added regarding the temples and traditions to which Europeans cannot have easy access. I have, therefore, taken my stand on a somewhat different ground, and have written the account from a purely local point of view, preserving traditions which the future historian may find interesting.

The earliest account of Jájpur is commensurate with the earliest authentic history of the province. The first of the Kes'ari Vaṇsa Rájá of Orisá, Yajáti Kes'ari, who reigned about the year 473, A. D., held his court at Jájpur, where he built a castle and palace called the *chaudadr*, or 'the mansion with four gates.' The true name of the town, I should suppose, was 'Yajátipúr,' or the city of Yajáti; the present corruption being by no means inconsistent with the genius of the Uṛiyá tongue or its hasty pronunciation.* The received account, however, on which the religious portion of the people put great faith, traces the name to 'Yajnapura' or the spot where, in ancient times, Brahma performed the great sacrifice, or 'Yajna' on which the sanctity of the place is founded. Whatever might have been the origin of the name, there can be no doubt that Jájpur was the

* Since writing the above I have read Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India,' in which it is said: "In the early part of the 6th century, Rájá Jajáti Keshari established a new capital at 'Jajátipur' on the Vaitarani river, which still exists under the abbreviated name of Jájipura;" p. 512.

earliest seat of royalty in Orísá, the court of the kings being held there uninterruptedly for more than five centuries until the year 989 A. D., when Rájá Nirúpa Kes'ari "planted a city on the site of modern Cuttack." Jajpúr did not, however, thereby lose much of its importance. It was one of the five Katakas, or fortified capitals, of Gangádhar Dev, and during the independence of the country, must have been held as an important pass to Orísá proper, down to the year 1253, A. D., to which time the kings of Orísá were known abroad as the 'Rájahs of Jajpúr.*

The place is also noted in history as the scene where the famous battle between the fanatic Kálápahár, the general of Sulaimán Afghán, and Talingá Mukund Dev was fought (A. D. 1558), when the last reigning king fell, and the independence of Orísá was lost. The mutilation of the images of gods and goddesses, the desecration of temples, and the raising of Saracen minarets on their ruins still testify as to how the day was lost, and the saying—

আইলা কালা পাহাড়,
ভাঙ্গিল লোহার বাড়,
খাইলা মহানদী পানি,
সর্ব খালিরে হাড় পশুস্তিম্বকুন্দক রানী,

"In came Kálápahár,
Broke down every iron bar,
Drank the water of the Mahánadí:
Forced Makunda Rani to hold bones on golden plates,"

keeps up the memory of the Afghán oppressions.

The battle was fought at a place called 'Gabiru Tikri' about four miles to the north-east of Jajpúr. There is a large tank in the field, which is pointed out as the spot near which the Afghán army was encamped. The place is still dreaded. It is believed that whole armies are now lying sunk in the adjacent marshes where they still beat their drums and blow their trumpets at dead of night, and are expected to rise hereafter, and regain the country for Rájá Bírakishor of Khurdá. There is a saying, however, which runs counter to this belief:

* See Major Stewart's Bengal, pp. 38 and 41.

“উকি ধান গজা হেবে,
গজর টিহরিরে লড়াই হেবে,
বীরকিশোর রাজা হেবে,

“When the boiled rice will sprout,
When the battle will be fought at Gahvar Tikri,
Then Bír Kishor will be the king,”—

which points out, in spite of the popular belief, the improbability of a fresh battle for the recovery of the independence of Orísá.

One of the memorials of the Afghán conquest was the building of the cenotaph of 'Alí Bukhári, the distinguished colloquial of Kálápahár. It is said that after the battle at Jájpúr he accompanied his chief to Kaṭak, where he displayed great valour in the siege of Fort Bárobáti; but when its garrison was about to yield, his head was severed by the sword of the enemy. His headless trunk, however, gave spur to his horse which carried him straight to Jájpúr. Here he prayed and was sanctified, like the king of France at the gate of Heaven :

“And then he set up such a headless howl,
That all the saints came out and took him in.”

'Alí Bukhári was then buried on the high terrace where his tomb still stands, his horse being buried in a separate grave beside him. It is also said that his head was interred in Kaṭak, perhaps in the tomb which stands under the pipal tree in the centre of the Fort—a suggestion to those whom it may concern. The terrace on which the tomb stands at Jájpúr, formed at one time the steryobate of the *Mukti Mandupa*, or conclave of the learned Pandits, which was destroyed by the Muslim conquerors. The three colossal images, which are now preserved in the sub-divisional compound, were originally placed with five similar statues round the colonnade of the *mandapa*. The Muhammadans broke down five and made them (so runs the tradition) into balls and shots for their guns, and threw three down the platform, where Mr. Sterling saw them “with their heels uppermost, amidst a heap of rubbish.”

During the Muhammadan and Marhatta periods, Jájpúr was placed under an 'amildár, who was entrusted with the collection of revenue and the administration of justice. The Deputy of Nawáb Shujá'ud-din, Muhammad Taqí Khán, held his court and built a palace at

Jájpur. The palace stood on the site of the present sub-divisional buildings, and old inhabitants of the place still remember to have seen it standing; one of these, Qádir Sháh, an octagenarian, supplied me with the following information :—

“I remember when a boy at play how the British soldiers, 500 *gorá* and 2000 *kálá*, under General Hawket and Mil-mil Bani (Commandant Milman^e) came from the south, fought and took the Bárobáti Fort. I was sixteen years old then, and looked at the cannonade, which lasted about two hours, on the eastern gate, from a tree near *Katak chandi*. I remember also when this large *Bápi* (well, opposite Jájpur catchari) was dug at the expense of Rájá Bápují. Bápují was one of the Marhatta 'ámildárs. The house of Muhammad Taqí I saw. Its gates stood here. It would have stood up to this time, but for the vengeance which one of the Marhatta 'ámildárs took upon us. This was Gauránga Rái, a Bengali. He greatly oppressed us, ruined some of our mosques, and removed the stones from Taqí Khán's palace, to build his own mansion and the temple of Gobindji at Bhog Mádhava.”

‘Bhog Mádhava’ is one of the seven *Sásanas*, or royal grants, in Jájpur, and within a mile of the town. The temple of Gobindji is standing still within the compound known as ‘Gauráng Deori.’ Two stone buildings of the old solid style, a stone gate with a pointed arch, a small tank within, enclosed with thick perpendicular layers of stone, are all that now remain of the buildings of Gauránga. There is also a classic *Tamda* tree standing in the middle of the compound.

Jájpur also ranks high as one of the four holy places of pilgrimage in Orísá. It would be out of place to reproduce the elaborate account which the Kshetra Purána gives of the gods and goddesses. Its sanctity is derived from the circumstance, that at the great sacrifice of ‘Dasásvamedha’ (ten horses), the great mother (the creative energy of god) assumed the holy form of Birajá at this place. The Baitarani,* which flows by Jájpur and the identity of whose name with that of the river (the Indian Styx) which the dead are supposed

* The Kshetra Purána mentions that the source of the Baitarani lies in the Go-náshiká (cow-nose) Hill in Keonjhar. The rock is so named from its resemblance to the nose of a cow from which the water flows down.

to cross on their way to heaven, invests the place with additional sanctity, and pilgrims are made to perform certain ceremonies on its bank as a preparation for the journey to the hall of Aruti. Jájpúr is, farther, supposed to rest on the navel of the giant who has his head at Gayá and his foot at a spot in Rájá-mandrí. Within the compound of the Birajá Temples there is a well, known as the *Gayá nábbhi*, which is supposed to reach the navel of the giant, and into it pilgrims are required to throw *pindu* or rice balls, to deliver their ancestors from the consequences of sin. The Kshetra Purána also describes Jájpúr as a triangular plane of the form of a (bullock) cart, having the temples of Siva, Uttares'vara, Killálotares'vara and Barunes'vara standing on the three angles, I suppose, to serve as boundary pillars.

The boundary already given to Jájpúr as a place of pilgrimage comprises an area of several square miles, extending on both sides of the Baitaraní. Within this area the ruins of the ancient town lie buried, affording to the antiquarian a rich field for research. The spade is hardly applied to the earth without hitting the relic of some ancient building or figure. Broken capitals and pillars and figures of mutilated gods and goddesses are scattered in all directions, being in some places worshipped as the village deities or 'Gráma Debatás.' Most of these have suffered either from the general wreck of time, or fanaticism. A few that have partly survived may be separately mentioned.

One of the most remarkable specimens of ancient Hindú sculpture, which I have seen, is the broken image of the *Smasána Káli*, forming one of the group which adorned the *Bhajana mandapa* already alluded to. The figure is altogether eight feet high, sitting on a corpse, and cut in a massive block of chlorite. It is not actually a skeleton figure, as some have supposed, but the shrivelled skin barely covers the bony frame within, leaving the arteries and veins visible. Its crab-shaped eyes sunk in the socket, its high cheek-bones on a level with its nose, its stretched mouth through which one or two canine teeth peep out, give to its flat face an expression of hideousness, which is greatly enhanced by the projecting rib-bones and dry breasts over which the nerves run down in profusion to the abdomen, which is withered and sunk to the spine. To

the imagination it presents the very picture of starvation and famine, not wholly unlike that unholy demon who lately scoured through the country.

The two other figures which stood in the same group with the above are the *Bārāhi* and *Indrāni*. The *Bārāhi* is a female figure with the head of a boar and a huge round belly. The *Indrāni*, or Queen of Indra, is a well-proportioned female figure. The wrists, arms, and breasts of both are decorated with ornaments. The foot of the former rests on a buffalo, and that of the latter on the head of an elephant, as if in illustration of the saying "the gods have their carriers according to their worth."

Next to these may be mentioned the elegant column called the '*Sabha stambha*,' which is still standing. It is built of blue chlorite. There was an inscription on a slab at the foot of the shaft which appears to have been cut away. It is said that a *Sannyāshi* destroyed the slab to take the treasure which was concealed behind it, a hole being still observable in the middle of the pedestal and beneath the shaft. The total height of the column is 36 feet 10 inches; the shaft—a monolith—being 29 feet, 9 inches. The shaft appears fluted, but the appearance is due to the circumstance of its being a polygon of 16 sides, each of which is slightly channelled; the capital is ornamented with festoons composed of grotesque faces of lions and bead drops. The cornice has the appearance of a large lotus. What has been said of a higher and more famous pillar may not inappropriately be applied to this 'stambha.' "The spectator can never be tired with admiring the beauty of its ornamented capital, the length of the shaft, or the extraordinary simplicity of the pedestal."

Perhaps the most ancient relic of antiquity in the town is the *Dasāsvamedha Ghāt*, where the sacrifice of ten horses is said to have been performed. The flight of steps is now a rough mass of stone worn out by the constant tread of human feet. On both sides of the steps there is the ruin of an old rivetment which shows that the Baitarani, which is now a bed of sand, once flowed by them. In the rivetment there is a spout turned into the head of a large alligator, which was evidently used as an anchorage to fasten boats. On two sides of the ghāt there are the face of

a giant and the head of an elephant. The latter is life-like, and affords a fair specimen of the degree of excellence to which the art of stone-cutting had once attained among the Hindús.

Facing the Dasásvamedha Ghát on the opposite side of the river there is another old ghát. On one side of this ghát, there is a raised terrace surmounted by a long and narrow room containing the figures of the seven *Mátris** in miniature, evidently carved on the model of the figures in the *Mukti Mandapa*. In this group there are four other statues of which the most remarkable is the aunt of Yama, or death,—a hideous, decrepid old female figure, with hooked nose, a flat wrinkled face, shrunken body, and emaciated pointed knees.

Portions of the temple of Birajá appear to have some claim to antiquity. There are some very nice sculptures on the walls on both sides of its gate amidst a mass of obscenity which would make the spectator doubt whether the men who cut these figures had actually the veneration ascribed to them.

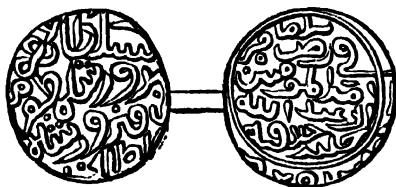
The modern town of Jájpur extends along the right bank of the Baitarani, which above the point of its junction with the Gengati retains no water, except during the freshes. It is almost surrounded by rivulets. It has three principal roads, two of which run from the west to the east, and the third cuts them cross-wise, running from the old ghát on the Baitarani to the temple of Birajá. It has other cross-roads and lanes decidedly in a better state than those of other towns similarly located. The houses are, almost without exception, built of mud, the floor and veranda being collections of old stones, some of the mud walls being raised on the foundations of pucca buildings of old.

The Towns Improvement Act has been extended to Jájpur, and for the purposes of the Act some 81 small villages have been united, comprising an area of about four square miles. The inhabitants of Jájpur are principally Bráhmans, whose houses stand in *sashans*, or rent-free grants. A most important section of these Bráhmans are the Pandáhs of Baitarani and the goddess

* There are seven *matris* in the gallery, their names being 1, Káli, 2, Indráni, 3, Kumári, 4, Rudráni, 5, Váráhi, 6, Vaishnavi, 7, Yamamátri. These are the different dreadful shapes which the goddess Durgá assumed during her wars with the demons Sumbha and Nisumbha.

Note on a gold coin bearing the name of Prince Fīrūz Shāh Zafar, son of Fīrūz Shāh of Dīhlī.

In March last Mr. E. C. Bayley favoured the Society with a note regarding a unique coin in the possession of Mrs. Cowie. The coin bears the name of Fīrūz Shāh Zafar. A woodcut had just been prepared, when the first copy of Mr. Thomas's 'Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Dēhli' reached this country.



Mr. Thomas (p. 300) enumerates four coins that bear the name of the prince, among them one gold coin, a "unique specimen in the possession of Col. Guthrie," and "one silver coin, a new variety, belonging to Mr. Bayley," &c. They are all posthumous coins, as Zafar died before his father.

The wood-cut shews that the original is identical with Col. Guthrie's specimen, of which, however, the margin has been cut away. The drawing shews pretty clearly the year A. H. 791, which agrees with the third coin described by Mr. Thomas.*

The weight of the coin could not be determined, as it is attached to a necklace. The legend is—

في زمن الامام	السلطان الاعظم
امير المؤمنين	فيروز شاه ظفر
ابو عبدالله	بن فيروز شاه
خادم خلافته	السلطاني

"The great Sultān Fīrūz Shāh Zafar, son of Fīrūz Shāh, the Royal,† in the time of the Imām, the Commander of the Faithful, 'Abdullah,—may his *Khilāfat* be perpetuated !"

* During the year 791, Abūbākr, son of Zafar, succeeded to the throne of Dīhlī, which accounts perhaps for the issue, or re-issue, of coins with Zafar's name. Muhammadan kings liked to style themselves *ibn i Sultān ibn i Sultān*.

† *Al-Sultānī*, adj., the royal. *Sultānī*, noun, the King. Mr. Thomas's wood-cut has the article,

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Notes on, and Translation of, two Copper-plate Inscriptions from Bīman-ghāṭī.—By BABU PRATA'PACHANDRA GHOSH, B. A., ASSISTANT SECRETARY, ASIATIC SOCIETY, BENGAL.

[With two plates.]

In March last Mr. Wood-Mason, Assistant Curator, Indian Museum, handed me two copper tablets bearing inscriptions. These, he said, had been found buried in the ground, and were forwarded to him by a gentleman of Chaibāsa, Singbhūm. The plates, when I received them, were so much covered with rust and mud, that I could entertain little hope of ever being able to decipher them. Immersion in cocoa-nut oil, however, seemed considerably to improve the appearance of the tablets, and in May last I took out the plates and had them well rubbed over with a brush, so as to remove all rust. This I succeeded in doing with the help of two weak vegetable acids, tamarind and lime juice. The inscriptions on the tablets after this operation appeared to be legible, but still at places they were so deeply eaten into as to necessitate my using a blunt knife, to remove the scaly rust which stuck to them with some degree of adhesion, but to little advantage, and after several attempts at cleaning the tablets, I gave up the idea of being able to do anything with them. In July, however, it struck me that dilute sulphuric acid, if judiciously

applied, might help me in removing the last adhering scales of oxide and dust. This was accordingly done, but as the bath used was a weak one, it took some days before the pipes appeared to have any effect. As the plates now are, they are very clear, except at three or four places, which look blotched, but those defects did not interfere with the decyphering of the inscriptions.

The tablets are each surmounted by a round seal with a high undulating rim so formed as to resemble roughly a full blown lotus. The seals appear to have been forged with the tablets, after the latter had been completed, and the convexity of the back of the seal indicates that they had been separately attached to a holder, though the circumstance of the characters of the legend not being reversed, as usual in a seal, seems to be opposed to such a supposition. The tablets are inscribed on both sides commencing from the left corner of the top with the legend of the seal upwards. A portion of the first line of each inscription has been covered by the rim of the seal, but the position of the seals on the two tablets being slightly different and the inscriptions on the two being almost identical, the portion covered in one has been left apparent in the other.

The character is the Devanāgarī of the twelfth century, but is allied to the *Gaudīya* rather than to the *Kutīla* type. It is curious to observe, however, that in both the plates certain very ancient forms have been retained. Thus ङ, घ, भ, ढ, ढ, उ and ऋ have retained their ancient forms, and especially the ङ, घ and ढ, while such letters as च, छ, य, म, व and ञ are scarcely distinguishable from their Bengali equivalents of the last century. The vowel signs are identical with those of the Bengali alphabet, though slight modifications are observable in the signs of उ and ऊ, which are like the Bengali sign of ঊ. The Bengali of ব, ন, ড, জ, ঝ and র may be traced to the forms engraved on these tablets. Modern compound consonants, such as ঞ, ঞ, ল and ঞ, are not visible in those inscriptions; they are written as ক্খ, জ্জ, ন্ন, খ্খ. The ঞ attached to the compound জ্জ is like that of the Bengali. The forms of ম, ঘ, ঞ and য (?) are most peculiar, being nothing like *Gaudīya* or *Kutīla* types, but are more likened to the crude forms of the Pāli. The ঞ and ঘ the ঞ and ঞ (at certain places), the ম, ব and ঘ, and the ন and ন are so very like one another, that nothing but a thorough

understanding of the purport of the text could help any one to determine which is which. Indeed the difference is so very minute and almost *evanescent* that in my first reading I had rendered a passage *आराधनच पिट पादः* instead of *आराधन क्षयित पादः*, which latter reading alone makes any sense. The compound *च* is expressed at two places in two different ways; thus at some it is *च*, and at others is *ञ*. It is interesting to note that the Bengali compound *ड* of *त* and *ड* is to be observed in these inscriptions as *डु*. In one of the tablets, the latter one, the compound *च* has been greatly modified, and the compound has approached the form of *क*, more than that of the Devanāgarī *च*. On the whole, from the forms of the letters occurring in the inscriptions, one is led to suppose that the inscriptions are more Bengali than anything else, and that they contain forms to which the Bengali alphabets may be traced. It was ere long a puzzle to many a palæographer to explain how such Bengali forms of alphabets as *ख*, *उ*, *थ*, and *प*, originated; but these records help to solve the difficulty.

The language is Sanskrit, and the metre of the *ślōkas* which now and then turn up, is *anustupa*, except the last couplets, which are in the *distich* metre. The grammar on the whole is correct, but errors and omissions, committed by the engraver, are in the later plate specially, numerous and frequent. The style of the composition as well as the phrases are quite modern, and this fact alone ought to warn us against identifying the Samvat of Śrī Raṇabhanja Deva's inscription with that of Vikramāditya.

The inscriptions record the grant of several villages by two princes (father and son) of the same family. They open with the usual salutation, in which Śiva is invoked to bless the donors. The names of the ancestors of the donors follow with eulogies, and then come the names of the donors. The donee's name and the names of the villages given away, and the rights thereto attached, and the privileges accruing therefrom, are next mentioned. Imprecations are fulminated against the resumption by succeeding princes of the villages, and the records close with the usual quotations from the Dharma Śāstras, in which the donors of lands are praised and those who resume lands given by others are condemned as vile sinners.

The tablets record grants by the princes of the Bhanja family, perhaps of the Mayurabhanja dynasty of the Kaṭak Tributary Mahals. The names of the donors are S'ri Raṇabhanja Deva and S'ri Rājabhanja Deva, the latter being the son of the former. One of the inscriptions bears a date, but the figures are so unclear as to leave us entirely in the dark. It looks like 65 Samvat, and this Samvat, without doubt, is an era peculiar to the family, quite distinct from the Samvat of Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī. The founder of the dynasty of the Bhanjas was one Virabhadra, and if my conjecture about the relation of the Bhanjas to Mayurabhanja be correct, his descendants are perhaps still extant, and the villages they bestowed, may be identified with existing places. The names of the princes recorded in the inscriptions are—

Virabhadra (founder of the dynasty)

S'ri Koṭhyabhanja

S'ri Digbhanja (?)

S'ri Raṇabhanja Deva

S'ri Rājabhanja Deva

Virabhadra, the founder of the dynasty, is stated to have founded several hermitages, and from the fact of a hundred millions of hermitages being in the place, it is in the inscriptions named *Kottya*, or a hundred million.

This also appears to have been the name of a prince that followed Virabhadra. In the translation appended, Digbhanja is rendered as a surname of S'ri Raṇabhanja Deva. The passage in the inscriptions is so very ambiguous, that for the correct rendering of the same we must wait till the legends of the Mayurbhanja family are obtained. That the Bhanja dynasty of these grants are identical with the Mayura-bhanja dynasty is further evident from the unexplained passage in both the tablets मयूराब्धं भित्वा । “having broken a pea-hen's egg,” and also from names of the villages. Brāhmanavasatī is undoubtedly the ancient form of the Bāmanghatty of our maps, an important village in the Mayurabhanja

estate. The villages Korandiyá, Devakunḍa, Timandirá, Koṅkola, Janbupadraka, Prusanná, of Śrī Raṇabhanja Deva's grant are in name evidently Uria. Again, the title of the donees in both inscriptions is Uria. The donee of Rájabhanja's deed of gift is Buddha Sámanta, son of Muṇḍi Sámanta, and that of Raṇabhanja is Baḍhaka, son of Muṇḍi Sámanta. That the donees are of the identical family does not admit of doubt, and there are strong reasons to suppose that they are the same individuals. Buddha and Boḍhaka might be different rendering by the engravers, of the same name. In the translation, nevertheless, Sámanta has been rendered as 'generalissimo,' and the reason of my so doing is, that in the absence of any legend or tradition to the contrary, I think it better to give a literal rendering of the inscription than to mislead the reader by what I believe to be a mere guess.

The tablet bearing Raṇabhanja's grant measures $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 7 inches, and the diameter of the seal attached to it, is over 3 inches. On referring to the plates, it will appear that it is the better executed engraving of the two. Indeed, the other tablet is a copy,—a rough and hasty one—of this. In the seal is the figure of a bull, the Nandi, surrounded by a crescent moon and standing before a trident. The name of the prince "Śrī Raṇabhanja Deva's" श्रीरणभञ्ज देवस्य occurs next in one line extending over the entire diameter of the seal, and the oxergue bears a little less than a half lotus. The inscription, transliterated in Devanágari character, stands thus :

श्रीरणभञ्जदेवस्य ।

सखि । सकलभवनैकनाथो भवभयभिदुरो भवो भवानीशः वि-
विधसम धि विधिज्ञः सर्वज्ञोऽवः शिवायान्तुः । आसीत्कौश्याश्रम महा-
तपोवनाधिकारं म यदाहं (?) भीत्वाश्रुलदह वीरभद्राख्यः प्रतिपक्ष
निधनदक्षोऽवशीष्टमुनिपालतो नृपतिः ॥ तस्यादि भञ्जवङ्गरे रिपुवन
दावानलः ख्यातः शूरः शुधि(चि?)र्विनोतोज(र?)तः श्रीकोच ? भञ्जना-
माख्यः पुत्रस्तदानुपयश्रेष्ठः श्रीमान्नशक्त(असंख?) सामन्त नृपति, शता-
र्धितचरणो आदिग्मभोज(य?)श्च अश्वितः । तस्यात्मजः स्मर समो बल-
वाम्बरिष्ठः शूरः समन्यत(समुन्नत?)यसा(श?)प्रविजित्य शत्रुं राजायुधि-

स्तिरिवावनिपालने च-। नित्यं रतः कुशल कर्मविधौ प्रशक्तः खिज्जिदंशः
 कोचः? वासी हरचया (चरया?) राधेन क्षयितपापः ओमा (न?) रणभञ्ज-
 देवः । सानुनयप्राहः भूःपालके खिज्जिदंशः? इति पित्रो उत्तरखण्डस्या-
 न्तःपाती कोरन्दि? (खि?) या नाम्ना विषयः तथा देवकुण्डविषयसम्बन्धः
 तिमहिरायामः कोष्णेलायामः जम्बुपद्मकयामः प्रसन्नायामाभिधेता-
 न्नेपियामाभ्या अयं पूर्व विदित चतुःसोमापर्यन्ता-? मचा (वा?) भट्ट?
 प्रवेशो आकरी कृत्य? महासामन्त मुण्डीसुतः वट्टा (वट्टा?) कस्य विधेयो?
 दत्ता? (ट्टा?) शासनीकृत्य प्रदत्तो हं ायावत्प्रि (त्यु?) थो धम्मदाक्षिण्य
 लोकातोवा? तावत् काल पालनीयो भवद्भिः उक्तश्च धर्मशास्त्रे वज्रभि-
 र्वसुधादत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभि र्यस्य यस्य यदा भूमौ तस्य तस्य
 तस्य तदफल माभुतः फलशङ्कावः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा । खदत्ता (त्)
 फलमानन्तपरदत्तानुपालने खदत्तापरदत्ताम्बा यो हरेद्वसुन्धरां सवि-
 स्थायां कृमी भुत्वा पिट्ठभिः सह पच्यते ॥ अपिच । क्षितिरियं कुलटोव
 वज्रप्रिया हतशरीरमिदश्च विनस्मर । सुकृत सद्य न चेत् क्रियते ध्रुवं
 वियदि वक्षति वानुसूयानलः ॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोलाः श्रिय-
 मनुचिन्त्य मनुयजोवितश्च । सकलमिदं मृदाकृतं (मदान्धतां?) हि
 बुद्धाः न हि पुरवैः परकीर्त्तयो विज्ञेयाः ॥ ० ॥ सम्मतं ५ (५?) आ
 शुभ सुदिन ।

Translation of Rānabhanja Deva's Grant.

"Be it so. May Bhava, the lord of Bhavānī, sole sovereign of all the worlds, dispeller of worldly fears, conversant with the various rules of *Samādhi*, the omniscient, be to your prosperity.

"In the great forest of devotion (*tapovana*) with its ten millions of hermitages, there was a ruler of men, named Virabhadra the holder of the sceptre, which had pricked the pea-hen's egg, was proficient in destroying (his) adversaries, the protected of the sage Vasishtha.

"At the commencement of the dynasty of the Bhanjas, (there) was born (to him) a son, Śrī Koṭhya Bhanja by name, (who proved) a conflagration to the wilderness of (his) foes, a renowned hero, intelligent, pure, courteous, eminent like his sire, fortunate and lordling over innumerable chiefs, homaged by hundreds, ruler of people, surnamed Sri Digbhanja (subduer of all quarters).

“ His son the prosperous Rājabhanja Deva, mighty as Kāma (cupid), most exalted, heroic, of full and towering fame (and) victorious over (his) enemies, like King Yudhishtira ever devoted to the good government of (his) country, and, fully efficient in (the promotion) of good measures and deeds, of the earth-conquering race, resident of Kōṭṭa, whose sins have been absolved by worshipping the feet of Hara, declares greeting, to the princes of the earth-conquering race.

“ Bounded by the suburbs of the northern division, are the states named Korandiyā and the Devakunda, appertaining to which are the villages of Timandirā, Konkola, Jambupadraka (and) Prasannā. These villages thus named up to their boundaries on four sides (with) their *lawful* (?) entrance, quarries and mines, free of encumbrances I give to Bodhāka Sāmanta, son of Muṇḍi, on seeing his proper conduct, with this edict which must be observed by you, princes of the earth-conquering race, so long as (there would be) men of virtue and politeness on earth. So it is said in the Dharma Sastra. Lands have been given (in donation) by several princes commencing from Sagara, whosoever is the land for any time his and even his is the produce (thereof) for the time being. Whenever any one is the occupant of any land, he has the usufruct thereof for the time. But seeing these gifts made by your predecessors, ye princes, be not apprehensive of the diminution of your power (demerit). (For) the observance of another's grant is more meritorious and is fraught with greater merit than a gift by one's self. Whoever resumes a land given either by himself or another, rots with his ancestors in filth in the form of maggots. Moreover this earth like a harlot is a mistress to many; while this mortal frame is frail and fragile, unless one betimes practices virtues he will have to upheave sighs of fire (remorse) to the heavens. Knowing fortune to be as unsteady as the dew-drop on the lotus leaf, and life as brief, and seeing how every earthly thing moulders away, let none wipe away another's fame.”

The inscription of Sri Rājabhanja Deva is a little larger than the first. It is peculiar as it bears no date.

The inscription transliterated stands thus :

श्रीराजभञ्जदेवस्य ।

स्वस्ति । सकलभुवनैकनाथो भवभयभिक्षुः भवो भवानोशः ॥
 विविधसमाधिविधिभिः सर्वलोचः शिवायान्तुः ॥ आशीत् कोचः अम
 महातपोवनाधिराजो मायुराण्डं भित्वा शरणं दण्ड वीरभद्राख्यः प्रतिपक्ष
 निधनदक्षो वशिष्ठमुनिपालितो नृपतिः ॥ तस्यादिभञ्जवंशे रिपुवनदा-
 वानस्य ख्यातः । शूरशुचिर्विनोतो जातः श्रीकोटोभञ्ज पुत्रस्तदा-
 नुत्तमः श्रेष्ठ श्रीमान्नसत्तसामन्ता नृपतिः शतार्चितचरणो श्रीराजभञ्जो
 जगत्प्रथितः (जगत्प्रथितः?) तस्यात्मजः स्मरसमो वलवांवरिष्ठ शूर
 समुन्नत यसा प्रविजित्य शत्रु राजा युधिष्ठिररिवावनिपालने च
 नित्यं रतः कुशल कर्म विधौ प्रशक्तः । ————— कोचवासो हरचर-
 णाराधन क्षयित पापः श्रीमा(न)राजभञ्जदेवः सानुनय प्राह ॥ भूपाला
 खिञ्जिदंशप्रतिवद्धो उत्तरखण्डस्यान्तर्पाति ब्राह्मणवस्ति विषय संमन्थ
 ब्राह्मणवस्तिनाम्ना यामाभिधानो यामोयं पूर्वविदित सीमान्तः महा-
 सामन्तबुट्टानाम्ना मुण्डि सामन्तसुतस्य विधेयी दृष्ट्वा ताम्र शासनीक-
 त्याकरत्नेन च सर्ववाधा विवर्जितेन प्रदत्तार(?)स्माभिः । यावत् पृथ्वी
 धर्मदाक्षिण्यलोका तावत्कालपालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥ उक्तं धर्मशास्त्रे
 वज्रभिर्वसुधादत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभि र्यस्य यत्तु यदा भूमौ तस्य
 तस्य तदा फलमाह्वयः । फलशंकावः परदत्तेति पार्थिवा । खदत्त फलमा-
 नन्त परदत्तानुपालने ॥ खदत्ता परदत्ताम्बायोहरेति वसुन्धरा । सवि-
 स्थाया क्षमिभूत्वा पित्रभिः सह पच्यते ॥ अपि च । क्षितिरियं कुलटोव
 वज्रपृथा हतशरीरमिदं च विनस्तर । सुकृतं महानचेत कृत्यते ध्रुवं
 विपदिद्वन्द्वं जिवोनुषयानलः ॥ इति कमलदलाम्बुविन्दुलोका श्रिय
 मनचिन्तय मनश्च जीवितञ्च । सकलभिदमदान्वतां हि बुध्वा नहि
 पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥ ० ॥

Sri Rājābhanja Devā's (grant).

"Be it so ! May Bhava the lord of Bhavāni, sole sovereign of all the worlds, dispeller of worldly fears, conversant with the rights of various *samādhi* and omniscient, be for your prosperity.

"In the ~~the~~ of the vast forest of religious austerities and millions of hermitages, there was a ruler of men, Virabhadra by name, the subverter of the Mayura dynasty, who being protected by the sage

Vashishtha, his priest, was competent to destroy his adversaries with his picked sceptre.

In the commencement of the dynasty of the Bhanja, (there) was born (to him) a son, the prosperous Kotta, who was a conflagration in the wilderness of his foes, a hero, pure and courteous (in his manner). Equally eminent and prosperous (with his sire), while a hundred chiefs and rulers of men paid homage to his feet, was Sri Ranabhanja, of world-wide fame. His son, the prosperous, Rājabhanja Deva, of the earth-conquering race inhabiting Kotta, who is a cupid (in comeliness) and strength, supereminent, heroic and of exalted renown, victorious over his enemies and like the king Yudhishtira ever attentive to the government of his realm, and intent on his duties in works of peace, being absolved from all his sins by his devotion at the feet of Hara, says greeting to the princes of the earth-conquering race.

Bounded by the suburbs of the northern divisions and appertaining to the estate of Brahmanvasati is the village denominated Brahmanavasati (also); this village as far as its boundaries are hitherto known bestowed by us (in gift) for his merit to the generalissimo named Buddha, son of Mundi Sāmanta, free of all rents and incumbrances and by means of this copper plate edict. So long as there are virtuous men on earth, this must be observed by you, princes of the earth-conquering race. It is said in the codes of legislation, lands have been given by many a prince commencing from Sagara; whosoever is the possessor of the land, his and only his is the fruit thereof. Ye princes, be not suspicious as to your desert; for endless is the reward which alike befits him who grants and who observes the gifts. Whoever resumes a land given either by himself or another (in gift), rots with his ancestors in filth in the form of maggots. Moreover this earth as a harlot is a mistress to many, while this mortal frame is frail and fragile, unless one betimes practises virtues, he must utter igneous sighs of repentance to the heavens. Unsteady as the dew drop on the lotus leaf, know thus thy fortune to be fickle and thy life as brief. Seeing how every earthly thing moulders away, let none wipe away another's reputation.

The Alla Upanishad, a spurious chapter of the Atharva Veda—text, translation, and notes.—By BĀBŪ RA'JENDRALĀLA MITRA.

[Read 5th July, 1871.]

Fifty years ago Mr. Francis Ellis of Madras brought to the notice of this Society the existence of a modern imitation of the Yajur Veda prepared by some Jesuit Missionaries of the last century with a view to establish, by Vedic evidence, the divinity of Jesus Christ and the authenticity of the Bible. The attempt was characterised by Mr. Ellis as a “religious imposition without a parallel.” From a manuscript which I have lately received from Bābū Harischandra of Benares,* it appears, however, that a courtier of the Emperor Akbar had, a century before, anticipated the Jesuits, and attempted to impose upon the Hindu public in the same way by producing an apocryphal chapter of the Atharva Veda, designed to establish the superiority of the religion of his master, and to enlist on its behalf the attachment of his Hindu subjects.

The forgeries were, in either case, very clumsy, but the Jesuits, having selected the Yajur Veda, every chapter of which is well known, and has very precise and authentic commentaries, laid themselves open to easy detection, and failed to give currency to their work; whereas the Muhammadan, by selecting the Atharva Veda, of which a complete MS. was nowhere available, which was not religiously studied, and the extent of which, from the absence of commentaries, was undefined, avoided such a contingency. It is possible that an Atharva school of Pippalāda to which the latter appealed, did once exist, but there is no mention of it in the Charaṇavyūha, nor is there any text of that school extant. It might have been among the now lost S'ākhās, and if so, in appealing to it, the author invoked an authority which none could consult, and adopted a course, the futility of which has been very cuttingly condemned in the Tantravārtika, where it is said, “If a mañ maintain

* In Dr. Bühler's Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. from Guzerat (p. 44), I notice the existence of a MS. of this Upanishad in the possession of Kṛishṇarāṇ Bhi-māsaṅkar of Vaḍodarā.

a lost tradition to have been a source, he may prove whatever he pleases, for it is like appealing to a dead witness," (*mṛitasākshika-vyavahāraṇaḥ pralīṇas'ākhāmūla Tva-kalpanāyām yasmai yadrochate sa tat pramāṇi kuryāt*). The risk of detection and exposure in such a course is, however, reduced to a minimum, and hence it has been adopted very frequently by medieval and even modern Indian authors to establish the authenticity of particular opinions and dogmas, and even of entire works. The innumerable Tantras and Upa Purāṇas, which are now met with, owe their names solely to this cause, and the Pippalāda sākhā itself has been appealed to more than once for that purpose. Two or three centuries before the Muhammadan forger, a pious Vaiṣṇava attributed to that school a composition on the divinity of the youthful Gopāla, the *Gopāla Tīpani*, which found in so distinguished a scholar as Jīva Gos'vāmī a commentator; and several other apocryphal Upanishads are likewise affiliated to the same parentage. Manifest, however, as the spurious character of such attempts is to the literary critic, their success among Indian sectaries has been generally very great. In the case of the Muhammadan forger it was complete, and many otherwise sensible and well-read people were entirely misled by it. The late Sir Rājā Rādhākānta Bahādur was so far taken in as to introduce into his great lexicon the word *Allah*, as a Sanskrit vocable, and to quote this spurious work for his authority. Even now many paṇḍits admit its authenticity, and are prepared to subscribe to the tenets inculcated in it, believing that it is only Vedantism in an obscure shape, due to the mystic character of the Veda from which it proceeds.

The MS. of the Allah Upanishad is, even for an Upanishad which class of works are generally short, of very limited extent, comprising only two pages of 6 lines each. The language is obscure, apparently so made with a view to imitate the Vedic style; but the imitation is neither happy, nor grammatically correct. Vedic words are freely used, but without any appreciation of their original import, and their relation to each other is but ill-governed by the rules of Pāṇini. A plural verb has been twice used for a singular nominative, and the adjectives do not always correspond with their nouns. The collocation is throughout so defective that it is diffi-

cult to understand the text, and several well-read paṇḍits to whom I have shown the MS. declare it to be in a corrupt Sanskrit, unintelligible to them. I have myself had the greatest difficulty in guessing at the meaning, and only succeeded in doing so, by following the same plan which is adopted in decyphering ancient inscriptions. That I have been throughout successful in coming to the meaning which the author attached to his sentences, I cannot venture to affirm; but the matter is of so little import that mistakes on my part are not likely to lead to any material consequence.

The work opens in the usual Hindu style, with a salutation to Gaṇeś'a, and the invocation of the mystic Om; but it has no *s'ānti mantra* or benediction of any kind. This is remarkable, as there is no Upanishad that I am aware of (and I have examined nearly a hundred of them, both authentic and apocryphal,) which has not its appropriate *s'ānti*, introduced both at the beginning and the end. It is probable, however, that the author of the Alla Upanishad, though doubtless familiar with some of the authentic Upanishads, was not aware of, or did not notice, the constancy of the *s'ānti* in that class of compositions, and hence the omission; or perhaps he accepted the Om, as sufficient for the purpose, and did not think a more amplified version of it necessary, and this is very likely, as he must have noticed that Vedic compositions other than Upanishads begin with Om only, without any other *s'ānti*.

The object of the work is to identify Allah with the gods of the Vedas, and to establish his pre-eminence. Accordingly the author starts by saying that he who sustains all things and is the bestower of blessings is Allah, and he is the same with Mitra and Varuṇa. He is the God of gods, and manifest in his own light. He is likewise the great god Indra, and the ultimate object which the devout seek by their sacrifices. Warming up by those assertions, the author next describes him as "the eldest, the greatest, the noblest, the perfect, and even Brahma himself." This Allah, however, is not the deity whom the prophet Muḥammad of Mecca glorified, but he whom Akbar so adored. The anxiety displayed in making the distinction is worthy of note, and shows clearly the object with which the work was got up. Akbar is described as a messenger of God, but, either owing to the difficulty of introducing

the Arabic article *al* in a Sanskrit composition, or, what is more probable, with a view not to hurt the feelings of the faithful too offensively, he has made him to appear as “a prophet”—*rasûl*, and not *al-rasûl* “the prophet.” The same consideration, however, did not govern the writer in writing of the Hindu gods, and so he is more positive in making the Allah of his patron supersede the Hindu trinity of Brahmá, Vishnu and S’iva, and assume to himself their functions of creation, preservation and destruction. According to the Hindu scriptures, the deity, before the creation of the universe, floated on the waters of a universal ocean, or was the same as water, and the author borrows the idea and calls Allah “water;” he is the lord of sacrifices; the receiver of all sacrificial offerings; and the source of the heavenly glory of the Hindu sages: unperceived even by Indra, from him proceeded Máya, the heaven, and the rest of the universe in succession. Near the conclusion, the Arabic phrases *Alláhu Akbar*, *Allah ilallah* have been very adroitly introduced as “the identity of the uncreated God.” The first phrase has also been repeated, as is usually done in the *Azán*, or Muhammadan call to prayer. Then follows a formula in which the Tantric mystic syllables *Urum*, *hriñ*, and *phat* are worked in the form of a prayer for the preservation of all animated beings; and the work concludes by reiterating the maxim that the Allah of the prophet Muhammad Akbar is the God of all gods, and the creed *Lá iláha illallah* corrupted into *illalleti illallah*.

The distinction between *Allah*, the supreme being, and *illáh* from *illát* the name of an old Arabian idol, whence idols or gods has been generally borne in mind. The former is written with an initial अ = a, and declined as a word of the masculine gender with a short vowel ending, the final *h* being changed into the Sanskrit aspirate *visarga*. The latter is written with an initial इ = i, and treated as a word of the feminine gender, ending in इत् = í; but the distinction not having been always carefully observed, the text has, in many places, become quite obscure, and in the first line I have been obliged to analyse a word in search of a Sanskrit root to deduce a consistent meaning. Sir Rájá Rádhákánta Bahádúr, accepting the text to be genuine, took the feminine *illáh* to mean the energy of the Godhead, i. e., Máya, and his guess has the support

of a line at the end of the MS. where a female divinity, the destroyer of demons, *Asurasañharinī*, who is doubtless no other than the goddess Kālī, is invoked. The text of the *Rājā*, however, is corrupt, and in parts utterly unintelligible to me.

The use of the mystic syllables *hrum*, *hriṃ* and *phat* indicates a desire to subject the mysticism of the Tantras to the supremacy of the Allāh of Mṃhammad Akbar, so as not to let the followers of that system escape, or in other words to make the whole of the Hindu community bow to the religion of the new prophet. The syllables, as already shown in my paper on certain inscriptions from the Chusan Archipelago (ante, vol. xxiv, p. 325), are parts of the *vija-mantras* of the different manifestations of Durgā.

The use of Akbar's name in the MS. leaves no doubt of its having been got up in the time of that emperor by one of his courtiers, to give currency to his new faith among his Hindu subjects, but who he was it is impossible now to determine. It is impossible, likewise, to ascertain whether it was done at the instigation, or with the knowledge, of the emperor, or whether he too was deluded by a Vedic prophecy of the superiority of his doctrine. It is said in the *Ain i Akbari* that Badāonī, the author of the *Muntakhab ut-tawdrikkh*, was a great Sanskrit scholar, and was employed by Akbar in translating the *Ātharvan* Veda into Persian; but as he was a devout Muhammadan who looked with horror upon the new faith of his master, and freely stigmatized it in his history of Akbar's reign, it is not at all likely that he would be guilty of calling Akbar a prophet, and Allāh the God of Muhammad Akbar, and not that of the Arabian prophet, unless we believe it was done with a view to ridicule the religion of Akbar, which is scarcely probable. A writer in the *Oudh Akhbār*, a Hindustānī newspaper of Lucknow, says it is the work of the *Khān Khānān* or Lord Chamberlain of Akbar, but as there were several such officers during the long and prosperous reign of that monarch, it is not possible to ascertain which of them was the author of this gross religious imposition.

अस्त्रोपनिषद्—।

श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥ ॐ अस्मत्तां इक्षो* मित्रावरुणा दिव्या-
नि धत्ते ॥ इक्षो‡ वरुणो राजा पुनर्ददुः॥ हयामि मित्रो इक्षो ॥
इक्षो इक्षो वरुणो मित्रो तेजकासः§ ॥ होवारमिन्द्रो होतारमिन्द्रो
महासुरेन्द्रः॥॥ अस्त्रो जेष्ठं श्रेष्ठं परमं पूर्णं ब्रह्माणं अस्त्रां ॥ अस्त्रोरसस्य
महमदरकवरस्य॥ अस्त्रो अस्त्रां ॥ अदलावुकमेककं** ॥ अस्त्रावुकां††।
निघातकं अस्त्रो यज्ञेन ऊतऊतः ॥ अस्त्रा सूर्यचन्द्रसर्वनक्षत्राः ॥
अस्त्रो ऋषिणां सर्वं दिव्या‡‡ इन्द्राय पूर्वं मायापरमं अन्तरिक्षाः ॥
अस्त्रो§§ पृथिव्या अन्तरिक्षं विश्वरूपं दिव्यानिधत्ते ॥ इक्षो वरुणो
राजा पुनर्ददुः ॥ इक्षो||| रकवरइक्षो ॥ इक्षो रकवरइक्षो । इक्ष-
क्षेतिइक्षो॥॥ ॐ अस्त्रा इक्षो*** अनादिस्वरूपाय††† अथ-
र्वणि शाखां ऋं ऋं । जनान् पशून् सिंहान् जलचरान् अदष्टं‡‡‡
कुरु कुरु पाट् । असुर संहारिणीं क्रुं ॥ अस्त्रो रसस्य महमदरक-
वरसस्त्रे§§§ अस्त्रां इक्षेति||| इक्षोः ॥ इत्यथर्वणे पिप्पली-
शाखायां अस्त्रोपनिषद् संपूर्णम्॥॥॥ ॥

TRANSLATION.

Salutation to Ganes'a. Om ! Allah, the bestower (of blessings) to

The following different readings are taken from Rājā Rādhākānta's S'ubda-
kalpadruma, Vol. VIII, p. 155.

* इक्षे ।	§§ ईक्षे ।
† वरुणो ।	रक्षावर ।
‡ इक्षेति इक्षो ।	॥॥ इक्षेति इक्षोः ।
§ तेजकासः ।	*** इक्षो ईक्षोः ।
॥ महासुरेन्द्रः ।	††† अनादिस्वरूपा ।
॥ रसुरमहमदरकं वरस्य ।	‡‡‡ अदष्टं ।
** आदलावुक ।	§§§ रसुरमहमदरकं वरस्य अस्त्रो अस्त्रां ।
†† अस्त्रां वुकां ।	ईक्षेति ।
‡‡ सदिव्या ।	॥॥॥ इत्यथर्वणखण्डम् ।

us is Mitra; he is Varuṇa; he sustains the things* (of this world). Ilillah (the God) who is Varuṇa, who is the king, verily† gave‡ us (all). We attain§ that Illah who is Mitra. The God (ilillāh) among gods (illāñ)|| is Mitra and Varuṇa. He is manifest (in his own) light. He is Indra of the— (?); hq is the Indra of the hotás; he is the great god Indra. The God (Allah) of the gods (allāñ) is the oldest, the greatest, the noblest, the perfect, the Brahma. The God (allah) of the prophet Muhammad Akbar is the God, (allah) of the gods, (illāñ). O Allah! thou art the destroyer, the preserver, the only Brahma.¶ Allah is water, and consequently he is every reservoir. Allah is the lord (ina) of the sacrifice (yajña), the sacrifice (hutva) of the sacrificer (hotá). Allah is the sun, the moon and all the stars. He Allah is the heavenly glory** of the sages (ṛishis). O thou unperceivable†† even by Indra, (from the) celestially radiant‡‡ Allah first proceeded Mâyá and then the sky and the rest.

He verily upholds the diverse forms of the earth§§ as well as the heavenly bodies.

Ilallah who is Varuṇa, who is the God verily gave us (all). God (Illah) the great, (Akbar), God (Illah) the great, (Akbar). He is even the God of all gods (illalleti-illām), Om! Allāh iḥ allāh, the identity of the uncreate. *Hrum* and *hrīṇ* to the Atharva s'ákhá. Preserve, (O) preserve all men and cattle and lions and aquatic creatures unhurt. *Phat*, *Hrum* to the destroyeress of demons (asuras). The Allah of the prophet Muhammad Akbar is the God of gods. Illah, to the end ilillah.

End of the Alla Upanishad of the Pippalī s'ákhá of the Atharva Veda.

* The first word *asmallāñ* is evidently a compound of *asma*, we, *la* "to give," and, an interjection. *Illeh* is the nominative to the verb *dhatte* and in the same case with Mitra and Varuṇa, which are its counterparts.

† *Punar* for verily.

‡ The verb is in the plural to indicate respect.

§ The verb is *yámi*, and the *ha* before it is an expletive.

|| *Illāñ* is in the genitive plural.

¶ The sentence is very puzzling; I take it to be a compound of *at* for *ad* to eat or destroy, *Alla*; *Ava* to preserve changing to *u*, the verb being lengthened by conjunction with *alla* as in the word *Akshanuhini*; *u* vocative, *kum* Brahma and *ekakam* "the solitary" single or one.

** *Dibyás* = to *divya* heavenly and *as'* light.

†† *Indráya*, from *Indra*, a negative, and *ya* to get.

‡‡ *Antarikṣá* from *antariksha* and *ás*.

§§ *Prithivya* = *prithiví* and *áñ*, for certainty.

The Rock-cut Excavations at Harchoka discovered by CAPT. W. L. SAMUELLS, when employed as Boundary Commissioner on the Rowah and Chutiá-Nágpúr Frontier, Season 1870-71.—By CAPT. W. L. SAMUELLS, ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER, PACHUMBÁ, CHORD LINE.

(*With plates VI and IX.*)

On the left bank of the *Muwáhi* or *Muwai* river, which forms the northern boundary of the Chutiá-Nágpúr Tributary State of Cháng-Bhokár, stands the small village of Harchoka.* About a quarter of a mile lower down the river and on the same side, a nallah forms its junction with the *Muwáhi* in an oblique direction so as to form an angle with it of about 34° . Within the tongue of land thus formed lies a bed of coarse-grained granite, the surface of which slopes down to the bed of the *Muwáhi*, above which it rises in its highest part to about 9 or 10 feet. In this rock, at a distance of 37 yards from the point at which the nallah forms its junction with the river, are to be found the remains of a somewhat extensive excavation comprising courts, vestibules, chambers, and shrines.

The following notes, with the aid of the plan accompanying this paper, will, I hope, be found sufficiently clear and explicit to convey a fair idea of the form and peculiarities of this interesting excavation.

The darker coloured portions of the plan represent the solid rock which has been left standing to form the walls and other component parts of the temple. The lighter shade of colour represents those portions where the rock overhead has been left to form a roof; and the uncoloured portions those where the rock has been cut away, leaving them open to the sky.

I shall hereafter particularise the several parts by references to the plan; but I may as well endeavour to give here a general idea of their arrangement and dimensions, and this will perhaps be gained best by following me in an imaginary walk through the excavations.

On proceeding to the north side we descend $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet into the solid rock by a narrow flight of steps and find ourselves in an open

* Long. $81^{\circ} 45' 34''$, Lat. $23^{\circ} 51' 31''$.

passage, $24\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, that leads both right and left. Immediately in front of us is a shrine with a porch ($12' \times 9'$) facing west. Proceeding along the passage to the right we turn the corner of the porch, which is then to our left; and opposite it, on our right hand, stands, what I conjecture may have been, an altar, sanctuary, and dormitory. After passing the porch we enter a court measuring 18 feet by 19 feet, at the western extremity of which is a cell or shrine. In front is the hall or main apartment which may be entered from the court or through a vestibule on our left. The passage and court we have just been through, are both open to the sky. But now we enter the vestibule under a flat roof of solid rock, and at the entrance find a large sculpture of Ganesh cut on the wall in relief. There are two entrances to the hall from this vestibule, and the same number from the court. The hall measures 39 feet by 18 feet, the roof being supported by a double row of pillars, ten in number, at a height of 5 feet 9 inches from the floor. This is the average height of the other roofed portions of the excavation, excepting the cells. There are seven cells leading off from the hall on three of its sides, and in one corner there is a recess which formed a receptacle for idols. The largest cell is 6 feet square and $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Returning to the vestibule by which we entered, we turn to the right, and leaving two small shrines and, what appears to have been a sleeping place, on our left, pass along a passage 16 feet long, and $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet broad, which is open to the sky, like the passage beforementioned. This leads into a court 20 feet long; and near the end we enter from, there stands a porch, with four columns supporting its roof. This porch is not connected with any shrine or cell; and from having a stone bench between the two pillars at the back, was probably a place where people met to sit and converse. From this court we enter a verandah ($25 \text{ feet} \times 8 \text{ feet } 9 \text{ inches}$) closed in front throughout one half its length by the solid rock, the roof of the other half being supported in front by a single pillar. There are five cells opening off from this verandah. This ends our inspection of the interior, and re-entering the court we pass by the stone figures of a pair of bulls, and ascend again to the upper surface by a flight of steps on the east side similar to those by which we entered.

The section drawing represents the temple reconstructed, for it is now almost entirely destroyed, and I doubt if in another fifty years any traces of it will be left. The river just above the temple takes a very sharp bend, in the re-entering angle of which a creek has been formed by the eroding action of the water, (*Vide Pl. vi.*) and from the bank of the river being in this part low and shelving, the river, during the temporary impetuosity of floods, dashes with full velocity into this creek, and sweeping over the bank completely submerges the temple, which, at the highest floods is, throughout its greater portion, about two feet below the surface of the water.

It was a work of considerable time and labour to clear the ruins of the debris that lay within, but when this had been done, it was satisfactory to find that enough remained to enable me to form a very correct idea of what the excavations had been like in their perfect state. As a whole they assume rather an odd form, but this must be attributed to the limited space that was available for the purpose, the cell nearest the river being only nine yards distant from it.

I am inclined to think that these excavations have been made at three distinct periods, and for this reason I have, for distinction's sake, styled the three parts the upper, middle, and lower temples respectively. The lower has all the appearances of being the oldest. None of the columns in that part remain intact, but from the lower portions that remain, they appear to have had no base like those in the hall of the middle temple. The latter is, in my opinion, the latest excavation of the three. The two columns which remain standing in the upper temple are very rudely fashioned. The middle temple on the other hand has a much more finished appearance, the walls of the hall being rubbed quite smooth.

I could find no inscriptions in the lower temple. The inscription marked B was found on the verandah-wall of the upper temple, ~~near~~ the entrance to one of the cells. The inscriptions marked A, C, D, E, F, and G were cut on the hall pillars, only five of which I found standing.

The doorway shown in the section drawing, in which a pair of grotesque looking figures* support the scroll of lotus, stem and flowers, is the only attempt at ornamentation that is to be seen. The other doorways are each set off with a border of plain mouldings.

* These figures were called *Kirttimukh* by the *Muharrir* mentioned on p. 180.

I found the roof of the upper temple, excepting over the upper cell, in a perfect state, and it was by observing that the edge or eave of the terraced roof had been chiselled off straight, that I was enabled to conclude with certainty that the courts of the temple had been originally made open to the sky just as I found them. This peculiarity of the Harchoka excavation was also apparent from finding a portion of the roof of the porch L projecting from the back wall, whilst on the wall of the open passage at its side, chisel-marks could be traced not only above the level of the projecting fragment but right up to the top of the wall. It was by such aids as these, that in other parts of the temple I could ascertain what portions had been originally left roofed, and that unroofed.

A very intelligent Muharrir who accompanied the chief of Cháng-Bhokár to my camp informed me, that when he had visited this temple on a former occasion, he found a slab of stone lying amongst the debris which bore the inscription "Kirt Mohendres Gopal, Pattan, Sambat, 744, (A. D. 688)." I searched everywhere for this stone but was unable to find it. It is, however, a question whether in this instance the man's imagination and intelligence had not shot ahead of his palæographic attainments and combined to get the better of his veracity, for, though gifted with a smattering of Sanscrit and a good knowledge of Hindi, he was unable to make anything of the inscriptions which I copied. I am therefore inclined to doubt his having deciphered a complete inscription unless the characters were comparatively modern Hindi, in which case it was probably a transliteration on cut stone of one of the original inscriptions on the hall pillars. This supposition, in the event of there being any truth in the man's statement, becomes the more probable when one considers that all the inscriptions which I found were cut on the solid walls and pillars, and that therefore men who obviously engraved their names on such like places with a view to perpetuating their memory were not likely to commit the record of them to anything so liable to loss and destruction as a slab of stone of so comparatively small a size as that indicated to me by the mohurir. It remains to be seen whether the said inscription can be corroborated by any of those I have copied. If

not, I should disregard it altogether. If the characters which form the inscriptions I have copied, were compared with Prinsep's Tables, I think they would be found similar to those in use about the 9th or 10th centuries of our era. But the inscriptions do not necessarily fix the age of the temple, unless the substance of what is inscribed, specially points to their being coeval: and it appears to be as great a fallacy to suppose that the ages of ancient inscriptions can be determined from the particular forms of their characters. (See Mr. Ottley's paper in the *Archæologia*, Vol. XXVI., on an ancient MS. of Aratus.) Therefore until all the inscriptions I have sent to the Society have been deciphered, it will be impossible to say whether there exists any reliable evidence as to the age of these excavations; but most undoubtedly it may be said that they are of great antiquity.

It will be observed that up to this point, I have been speaking of the excavations as "a temple," but this term is probably open to objection as not being indicative of their true and original character. This may be: but it must be borne in mind that I have been speaking of them heretofore as judged by present appearances.

I venture no opinion as to whether it is a Brahmanical or Buddhist excavation.* The evidence that meets one's eye now in viewing what remains, shows that it has been used, latterly at all events, as a Sivite place of worship. If, therefore, any portion of it was originally Buddhist, all that was characteristic in it of the temples of that religion was no doubt designedly got rid of by the usurping sect. In the cells of the lower temple, I found no lingams. In the centre of each though, there was a rock-cut plinth, on which the lingam might possibly have been placed. But of course it might as well have borne any other object of veneration, either Sivite or Buddhist, to suit the views of the party in possession. I do not remember seeing a single rock-cut plinth in the cells surrounding the hall. Each of these cells contained a lingam, but the pedestals on which they rested were cut out of stone that was foreign to the locality. These cells may therefore at one time have been used as dormitories.

Possibly then the Harchoka excavation was originally a temple and monastery combined, and in the arrangement and variety of its several parts was, for an excavated structure, probably as complete for the purposes for which it was designed, as I believe it to be, in the above respects, unique.

References to the plan of the Harchoka Excavations.

A. Access to the temple is gained by these two flights of steps, one being on the north side, and the other on the east.

B. These are niches in the rock, situated near the entrances, and about level with a man's breast. They probably held some image or symbol, that was the first object of adoration to the votaries of the temple.

C. A lodge of rock 3 feet high, forming a pedestal for two stone figures of bulls, couchant.

D. Cells or shrines. Excepting those in the lower temple, they each contain the symbol of the lingam.

E. Pillars of solid rock. The base and capital of the hall pillars are both alike in size and form, and shaped thus—
The shaft is square, the central part being reduced to an octagonal form by chamfering the angles. There is a feeble imitation of longitudinal beams resting on the pillars, consisting of a band of rock, of the same breadth as the pillar, projecting about an inch or so below the level of the roof.

F. This has been a square plinth of rock standing about 3 feet high with columns at the corners supporting the roof. From there being a shallow oval-shaped basin or hollow in the centre, I conclude that this was an altar for bloody sacrifices.

G. Sanctuaries. These recesses have a ledge (g) about 8 or 9 inches high projecting from the base of the wall, ~~and~~ of a trough-like shape in front. On these ledges, the principal deities of the temple were probably placed, the trough being doubtless made to prevent the water and oil used in the bathing and anointing of the images from spreading and spilling the place. From concluding that these were the receptacles of the principal images, I have called them *sanctuaries*, though want-

ing in the privacy essential to the priest in the performance of the sacrifice, which is ordinarily performed with closed door. But this privacy might have been obtained by putting up a purdah, or screen ; an expedient of which we have a notable instance in the veiling off of the sanctuary of the tabernacle with a curtain or veil.

H. and J. These portions were so much split up and worn away that I cannot well conjecture to what uses they could possibly have been put. I, however, hazard the suggestion that, from having been, to all appearances, plain surfaces raised but a foot or two above the floor, they were used as sleeping places by the priests and servants of the temple.

K. and L. Porches. The Porch K has a low parapet on three sides for the purpose of keeping out the water that would wash past it on its way to the channel at M. The Porch L has a raised floor, and a rock-cut bench between the two pillars at the back.

M. An outlet for the water that would necessarily collect in the courts and passages after any rainfall ; the outlet being connected with an excavated drain, which, at a distance of 4 or 5 paces from the temple, branches off both to the right and left, and discharges its contents into either the nallah or river, according to the channel it takes. These drains were probably covered over so as to effect the more rapid discharge of the temple drainage.

N. Remains of some large image which has been injured beyond identification.

O. Remains of a large image of Ganesh.

P. Sculptured figures, said to be images of Vishnu.

∴ The sculptures N, O, and P, are all cut out on the rock wall in relief.

On slabs of stone lying here and there within the temple were sculptured images which were known to the most intelligent Hindoos in my own camp and the camps of the native chiefs in attendance on me, as representations of the following deities :

Durga, One image.

Mahadeo, with serpent and trident, Two images.

Durga riding in 5 different fashions, { Slab measuring 4 feet
by 2 feet.

Durga riding on a lion with spear in hand, One image.

Mahadeo and Parbati (Durga) seated together on a bull, } One image.

There were a few others which none of the people could identify.

The lower figure, on pl. ix. represents the device mentioned in the Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, for 1871, p. 237.

NOTE.—The Chief of Chang-Bhokár informed me that there were other excavations in Chang-Bhokár near the villages of Chataunrá, Gur, Ghagra, and Kanjia, but none of them so extensive as the Harchoka one; and he seemed to think that others would be found in the jungles of Chang-Bhokár if search and enquiry were made. In Singraulí of Rewah, besides the extensive excavations at Márá and Doykah* which I visited, I am told that there are others at Lilaur near Saipúr.

* See, Vol. VII, Asiatic Researches.

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*Translations from the Tārīkh i Fy'ūzshāhī.*

[Continued from Journal for 1870, p. 51.]

THE REIGN OF MU'IZZ-UDDÍN.—*By* P. WHALLEY, Esq., C. S.

Praise be to God, the Master of the learned, and benediction on his prophet Muhammad, and a thousand salutations to all his descendants. Invoking these blessings I, the weak Ziā i Baranī the compiler of the history of Fīrūz Shāh, continue my narrative as follows: In the reign of the emperor Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād, grandson of the Emperor Balban, I was a mere child, and what I have set down in this history of the events and results of his rule, I heard from my father, Muayyid-ul-Mulk, and my tutors who were the most learned men of the age. From them I have heard that in the months of the year 685, A. H., Sultān Mu'izz-uddīn Kaiqubād, son of Bagharā Khān, and grandson of the emperor Balban, succeeded the latter and was established on the throne of Dillī at the age of seventeen or eighteen years. This emperor Mu'izz-uddīn was a prince of generous actions and noble qualities; he had a well-ordered temper, a refined nature, and great comeliness of person, but the desires of self-indulgence and a longing to gratify youthful appetites, and a taste for wealth and luxury had carried their assault into his breast. From infancy up to the day he succeeded to the throne he had been trained under the eye of his grandfather, Balban, and so many rigorous guardians were appointed to look after him, that he had no chance of enjoyment, and no opportunity of gratifying his caprices. In their fear of the emperor Balban, his guardians never suffered him to cast a glance on a pretty face, or to taste a cup of wine. Night and day stern-tempered preceptors were set over him, who laboured to polish and refine him. There were professors who instructed him in writing, and science, and deportment, and others who taught him to shoot, and to play at ball, and to hurl the javelin, and they never allowed him to offend against propriety, or to be guilty of an ill-bred action or to speak an uncourteous word. When suddenly and unexpectedly and without reference to his wishes he was happily established

on a throne, the magnificence of which had been greatly amplified, and in an empire reaching to the shores of the ocean, and became possessed of a power, which others had for years been exhausting themselves and putting their lives in jeopardy to obtain, without accomplishing their desire,—when thus all at once he became absolutely his own master in pursuing his wishes and working them out,—he put out of remembrance all he had read and heard and learnt and acquired, and laid on the shelf his lessons of science and manners, and plunged headlong into pleasure and dissipation, indulging in the wildest excesses and holding the gratification of his youthful caprices above royal cares and the momentous affairs of empire. Thus when the harsh violence and tyranny of Balban, 'With the constraint of fear and the oppressive awe inspired by his sixty years' rule, was wholly and summarily removed, and in place of an old king of ripe experience and mature years, wayward, arbitrary, penetrating, artful, an old wolf girdled with such a terrorism of reproof and chastisement and bonds and imprisonment, that under the coercion of his rule not a desire of sport and levity, not a sigh for wine and love found utterance in the hearts of his lords and vassals, and the very names of sensuality, and self-indulgence and jest and laughter, of masquerades and minstrels were never breathed on the lips of the chiefs and nobles of the empire, nay, had been forgotten by the people at large, in his stead, I say, there sat on the throne a king, youthful and comely, kindly, easy-tempered, luxurious, a votary of pleasure and gaiety, ardently enamoured of enjoyment, as careless of the right conduct of the affairs of government, as ignorant of the way to keep them straight, without experience of the vicissitudes of the stars, or skill to prove their treachery,—the kingdom was given over to triflers. Voluptuaries and convivialists, seekers of pleasure, purveyors of wit, and inventors of buffooneries, who had kept in the back-ground, turking, unemployed, without a customer for their wares, came into request. Courtizans appeared in the shadow of every wall, and elegant forms sunned themselves on every balcony. Not a street but sent forth a master of melody, or a chanter of odes. In every quarter a singer or a song-writer lifted up his head. The times were in harmony with jovial tempers and easy circumstances; for-

tune smiled on parasites and courtiers; prosperity went out to welcome the jester and buffoon; pipers and courtizans saw the star of love rise into the mansion of eminence, and the moon, propitious to the queens of beauty, assumed the ascendant in their horoscope. So the emperor Mu'izz-uddin and the nobles of his realm and empire, and the children of the peers and princes of his time, and the gay, the rich, the sensualists and the epicures who lived under his rule, one and all gave themselves up to gluttony and idleness and pleasure and merriment, and the hearts of high and low alike were engaged in wine and love and song and carnival. "The ideas of the people adapt themselves to the faith of their kings." Noble and old and young, learned and ignorant, philosopher and fool, Hindú and Musalmán, emerged from the cities of the provinces. Business and places of business assumed a new aspect to the world. All the people throw wide the windows of their pleasure-house. The Emperor Mu'izz-uddin ceased to reside in the city. Leaving the metropolis of the Red Fort for Kilok'harí, there, on the bank of a stream, he built a peerless palace, and laid out a park of surpassing magnificence, and with his princes and chiefs and nobles and intimates and servants of the court, went thither and abode. All the princes and chiefs and gentlemen and men of science and officials reared booths near the palace; and afterwards finding that the Emperor was inclined to remain permanently at Kilok'harí, they erected palaces and villas each in his own quarter. Likewise the heads of every guild went from the city to Kilok'harí and resided; and Kilok'harí became populous and prosperous. The rumour of the employments of the Emperor, and his courtiers, high and low, and their favourite pursuits and their gaiety and mirth spread and reached all the quarters of the kingdom: and from all the quarters of the cities and of the empire, minstrels and rhetors, and beauties, and singers and wits and buffoons and mimics came to court. The place teemed with life, and licentiousness was the order of the day. The mosques were deserted by their worshippers and the taverns were thronged. No one cared to stay in the cloisters, but distilleries became places of note. The price of wine rose tenfold. The people were plunged in pleasure and gaiety and



no thought of sadness, or anxiety, or grief, or care, or fear, or dread, or restraint found place in a single breast. The clever, the genial, the wits, and the jesters, one and all, migrated to the town. The minstrels and courtezans invented new modes of pleasing. The purses of the vintners and distillers were gorged with gold and silver coins. Beanties and swash-bucklers and itenary panderers were overwhelmed with gold and jewels. For the men of title and the men of letters there was nothing left to do, but to drink wine, to make the assemblies sparkle with their wit, to vie with each other in repartee, to resign themselves to music and dice and largess, and the zest of the passing hour, anything to prop up life against the insidious sapping of time, and give night and day their fill of pleasure and repose. In fine they furnished the emperor's court so superbly with beauty and wit, that the enchantment he drank in by ear and eye, never lost its hold upon his breast till death. Zā i Jaljahi and Husām, the hermit, the wittiest of their time, and the best talkers of the age, men with a marvellous knack at bon-mots and unrivalled in dialogue and conversation became associates in the private audience-chamber of the emperor; and for everything they said which was thought witty, and for every neat saying and joke they made before the king, they obtained presents of money and apparel and caparisoned steeds. Thus the Emperor lived day and night in a round of pleasure, absorbed in the pursuit and gratification of his desires. Meanwhile Malik Nizām-uddīn son-in-law and cousin of Malik-ul-Umarā, Kotwāl of Dihlī, fawned about the imperial throne, and in the guise of an attached servant of the Emperor aimed at the vice-royalty of the realm. The conduct of all matters of administration devolved upon him; and Malik Qiyām-uddīn of the secretary's department, who, in learning and eloquence and style, and the subtle arts of secretaryship had no equal, became the main prop of the State, and Agent Plenipotentiary. Nizām-uddīn was a man of great industry, with a talent for administration, discreet, penetrating, and artful; and when not only matters of administration but the whole policy of the empire passed into his hands, the maliks and slaves of Balban, a numerous and influential body, who had become without exception, chiefs and counsellors

and pillars of the royal State, were one and all troubled and discomposed at his rise. (And not without cause for) the lust of sovereignty had settled in his head, and while the Emperor was lost in dissolute pleasures, the more experienced of the chiefs of the household, men who had tasted the vicissitudes of life, finding out that there was no immunity for themselves to be expected from Nizám-uddín, split into factions, and this discordancy of the maliks with their wife family connections, threw the whole course of things in the palace into confusion. Several of the leading maliks began to aspire to empire. Nizám-uddín in particular, observing the abandoned dissipation and reckless indifference of the Emperor, whetted his tusks in anticipation of a struggle for power. He reflected and not unjustly, that Emperor Balban, the wily old wolf, who for sixty years had held the empire of Dihlí in check, and in one way or another brought the nobles into absolute submission, was now out of the way ; his son, the only one who had an aptitude for command, had been martyred in his father's lifetime, Baghará Khán was helpless at Lak'hnauti, the roots of the empire, which the old man had carried deep, were daily slacking their hold, while Mu'izz-uddín, the emperor, was so conquered by self-indulgence that he no longer cared to rule. Hence if he could only get rid of Kai Khusrau, the son of the martyred prince, and detach some of the old maliks from Mu'izz-uddín, the empire of Dihlí would easily fall into his hands. With ideas like these, the key notes of rebellion, Nizám-uddín entered for the stakes of the empire of Dihlí, and taking up first the subject of Kai Khusrau, he spoke on this wise to the Emperor ; " Kai Khusrau is your rival in the empire, he is distinguished by kingly qualities, and there is a decided leaning on the part of the maliks to his side. They know he is the proper heir to the Emperor Balban, and if a few of Balban's maliks fraternise with him, it will not take them a day to thrust you aside and bring him in and seat him on the throne of Dihlí. The true policy for you, therefore, is to send for him from Multán and remove him out of your path."

Begot on the destruction of Kai Khusrau, and resolved not to be thwarted, they despatched a firmán requiring the presence of the martyr Prince's son, and then Nizám-uddín, taking advantage of a

moment of intoxication, obtained from the Emperor permission to put this noble prince to death. He deputed some persons from the Court, and they brought Kai Khusrāu to meet his fate in the town of Rohtak. The result of his death was, that all Balban's chiefs who had become courtiers, and counsellors in the Court of Mu'izz-uddīn conceived a dread of malik Nizām-uddīn. The splendour and dignity of the maliks was broken, they all alike became the victims of terror, and Nizām-uddīn triumphed. He brought forward some small matter as a pretext for a charge against Khwājah Khaṭir, Mu'izz-uddīn's vazir, and by his orders the vazir was seated on an ass, and carried about in mourning procession through the whole city. This proceeding spread the awe in which Nizām-uddīn was held more widely than ever in the breasts of all the aristocrats of birth and letters. He meanwhile set himself vigorously to work to put down the chiefs and heads of families, and told the Emperor in private, that "the new converts among the nobles, who were in office, and employed about the imperial person, had formed a cabal. The Emperor had been unwise in making them his friends and counsellors. They intended treachery to him, and would suddenly burst into the palace, and kill him and seize the empire." The Mughul chiefs too were holding meetings in their private houses, and plotting together. They were all of one race, heads of a numerous clientèle, combined for mutual support, and only waiting an opportunity for a sudden outbreak." Only a few days were allowed to elapse after this discourse on their insurrectionary spirit, when he again pressed the matter on the emperor, and obtained leave to capture and destroy them. He caused the whole party to be seized on the same day in the palace, and had the majority of them put to death, and threw their bodies into the stream, and caused their household property to be pillaged. Some sons of the confederates of Balban, of noble malik families, united to the massacred chiefs by ties of blood and familiar intercourse, he put under arrest and conveyed to distant fortresses. The old influential families he uprooted and dispersed. He pursued the same policy with Malik Shāhāk Amīr of Multān and Malik Tozakī. They held assigned tenures with the duty of mustering the provincial levies, and had retained large power and high state since the

Emperor Balban's time. Both of them on the most ingenious pretexts devisable were put out of the way. It was then manifest to all the intimates of the palace and the notables of the city what the malik's intentions were, and his gate and court became the resort and sanctuary of men of rank. To such an extent had he made the Emperor his puppet, that if any man, citizen or provincial, led by a spirit of sincerity and loyalty, whispered in the Emperor's ear hint of his designs, the Emperor would forthwith mention to Nizám-uddín, "So and so has told me such and such things about you," and then he would seize the man and make him over to Nizám-uddín as "the man who wants to thrust himself between you and me." Such was Nizám-uddín's success in establishing the closest relations with the king and ennobling his position and securing supreme authority, that his wife, a daughter of Malik-ul Umará was adopted by the Emperor as his mother and queened it in the royal harem. All the nobles in the palace with the chiefs and governors and holders of assigned lands, observing his triumphant career, drew in their horns and looked on; and while intent on new schemes of their own, watched the secret treason of Nizám-uddín, and devoted themselves with the aid of every available stratagem to back up him and his adherents.

Many a time, the Malik-ul Umará, Fakhruddín Kotwál sent in private for Nizám-uddín who was his son-in-law and cousin, and remonstrated with him about the schemes of empire he was pursuing, the enmity he had excited among the chiefs and courtiers, and the men of worth whose death he had contrived. The Kotwál would say: "I have brought you up, and you are of my house. Your grandfather and I for the last eighty years have held the post of Kotwál in Dihlí. We engaged in no intrigues for power, and we lived in peace. Oh, my boy, remember that I am an officer, and you are of my house. A Kotwál is a king's officer, and there is no nobler position or more exalted rank to which an officer can attain. It is now many years since I first held this office. Give up this mad idea of sovereignty. (Think rather), empire is not in my line. The imperial purple befits the person of soldiers and warriors who know how to overthrow armies at need by a display of courage and manly vigour. It would hardly sit well

on me who cannot put a horse to speed, nor shoot an arrow, nor hurl a spear and have never seen the face of battle, and have no fitness or aptitude for governing empires and ruling states. If you will not abandon this perverse idea which has fixed itself in your mind owing to your exclusive intimacy with the emperor, you will be the ruin not only of me but of all my children and my numerous connections. Nothing worth the pains can come of this scheme of yours. The Kotwāl wound up his admonition with this couplet—

“O fox, why could you not remain contented in your rank  
If a lion gives you blow for blow, you’ve but yourself to thank.”

Again he said—“You never saw the Emperor Shams-uddīn and the glory of his reign and his nobles and courtiers, but you have seen the Emperor Balban and his chiefs and his laudable and austere fashions, how khans and maliks and courtiers and nobles scarce dared to look in his face for more than a moment, so terrible and awful was it; so overpowering was his grandeur and magnificence that it turned the gall of tigers to water. We, who for years have run before mounted monarchs as servants, though honoured ones, how can we now assume the duties of empire and sovereignty? You may put on a new cap and a white Belt and a brocaded vest, and mount an Arab horse with trappings of gold, and see a few drunken lords and a few scaramouches without name or title before and behind you, and think it a fine thing to be an emperor. But do you not know or have you not heard that the imperial throne and the august masnad are for those who have greatness and nobility in their veins? Men who look on life as a plaything, who, in the hour of battle can tear the brains out of their foes and open the flood-gates of blood, and bring earth and heaven together with a crash? You with this form and face and figure and manner of yours, who dare not strike a green-grocer with an onion-stalk, or fling a clod at a jackal, how can you count yourself a man among men and dream of an imperial crown? Perhaps you have not heard this couplet—

‘Like a man with warrior aspect enter thou the lists of war!  
Simpering dandies never vanquished Rustam and Isfandiār.’

“And suppose that the poor drunken and besotted king in some

unguarded moment fell a victim to the treachery of one of your assassins, be sure the dishonour of such an act would cleave to you and your children till the world's end. But suppose that after a while you are seated on the throne of Dīlī, darkening it with the stain of your infamy,—your courtiers and counsellors either brothers in crime, meet minions to adorn the sceptre of your sovereignty, or your sons who will claim the title of princes, or a retinue composed of the faithful followers of your earlier days and pensioners on your bounty, or slaves who will be sure to flock in crowds round your imperial throne, and will be no unmeet confidants and lords for such an emperor, or, if you like, a few vagabonds like those now hanging about you, abject villains, whom you believe to be your very devoted servants and well-wishers because every now and then they ask where they shall place this cup or that flask for you, fellows who comb their boards and wear fine coats and gold sashes and rub themselves with extracts of rose,—these are the sort of men you will have as friends and counsellors in the court of Jamshēd and Kai Khusrāu. You will set up misers and skinflints, and mean helpless knaves and fools in high places, and will drag down the honour of the empire into the mire of contempt and insignificance. The gravest matters of state, the task of the great and noble, will be made over to nobodies and sons of nobodies and misbegotten knaves, who care for no interests but their own, and who for their vile money-bags would throw themselves headlong out of paradise. Have you not heard me tell over and over again of the courtiers of Shams-uddīn, what princely men they were and what utter nobility and greatness they were endowed with, so that many a time the emperor Shams-uddīn in mid conclave exclaimed—‘How shall I thank the High God enough who has given me for courtiers men so noble, a thousand times better than myself! Each time that in obedience to the imperial custom they pass before me and behind, and raise their hands in salutation, and stand before me in Darbār, their greatness and nobility makes me ashamed of myself, and ready to come down from my throne and kiss their feet and hands.’ The emperor Balban with twenty years’ experience as a malik and twenty years’ as a khān, gathered round him a set of nobles on whom he could rely

in any emergency, men of grave temperament and widely respected, and when he mounted the throne those were the men whose character gave its complexion to his court. By such a selection of courtiers, prosperity was secured, and that signal success which attended the administration of both these emperors. The memory of the events of their reigns will last while the world lasts, and the pen of the annalist will record their glories."

After the above had passed, the kotwál said to Nizám-uddín. "Go, my boy, and mind your own business, and rid you of these wild notions. Empire is not for us or the like of us." Nizám-uddín replied—"It is even as you say, and yet at a conjuncture like this, when I have made the people my enemies, and they all know what I am after, if I abandon my design on the throne, I shall certainly lose my life." "Yes," said the Malik-ul Umará. "But the design is not within your compass, and if you cannot give it up, you may indeed bid farewell to life and set about building your tomb. God protect us, that your pride and your ambition may not be the death of us all!"

The warnings and lectures which the Malik-ul Umará addressed to his son, and his good advice, spoken as it were under divine inspiration, came to the ears of the great and the worthy and leaders and chiefs of the city, and they all praised the Malik-ul Umará, and acknowledged his wisdom; and their belief in his foresight, and provident wisdom was a hundred-fold increased. But Nizám-uddín was not the man to profit by advice, and the lust of dominion made his eyes blind, and his ears deaf. Every day he pushed forward a fresh pawn on the chess-board of empire, while fickle fortune in the interest of the sovereignty of the Khiljis kept pushing out of his reach the means of disturbing the dynasty of Balban, and the heavens laughed mockingly in his face, and summoned the Khiljis, with felicitations to the throne. Also it became known to the emperor Mu'izz-uddín that Nizám-uddín was plotting his destruction, and all the Court knew it; and even while Mu'izz-uddín yet filled the throne at Dihli, his father Bagharrá Khán at Lak'hnautí assumed the title of Sultán Náṣir-uddín and had prayers recited and coins struck in his own name. Letters were exchanged between father and son. Envoys and messengers went and came with

despatches in quick succession. Presents and curiosities and souvenirs were interchanged; and many a talo reached Sultán Náçir-uddín in Lak'hnautí, telling how Mu'izz-uddín was lost in dissipation and Nizám-uddín was detaching from him many maliks and nobles of influence, and had nearly brought things to the crisis when he would destroy the emperor and secure for himself the throne. Sultán Náçir-uddín wrote letters full of advice and admonition to his son, and by hints and indications acquainted him with Nizám-uddín's villainous designs for his overthrow. But the intoxication of youth, of sovereignty, of selfish indulgence, and of dissipation had so driven the emperor out of his senses, that he was unable to give heed to his father's warnings or look into the traitorous schemes of Nizám-uddín. Drowned in pleasure and frivolity, he meddled with no business that bore on the state and tendency of political affairs. Apart from the niaiseries of his lemans, and the circling of his cup-bearers, and the languishing voices of his singers, and the pleasantries of his jesters, he had no care, and no occupation. From hour to hour he made pleasure yield him her portion, and from day to day allowed the claims of luxury. The Sultán Náçir-uddín, his father, at Lak'hnautí, hearing the reports of his recklessness and indifference was grieved and perturbed, and saw his son's ruin imaged in the mirror of experience. He found that, while absent, his warnings had no effect, and resolved to meet his son and say what he had to say face to face. He despatched letters full of affection to his son, and at last wrote with his own hand to this effect: "My son! you have an empire on your hands, and yet you do not relax your pursuit of pleasure and enjoyment. I wish that you would think it worth your while to meet me, for I am weary with longing to see you." He concluded his letter with this verse—

"Let others seek in heaven the abodes of bliss;  
Whilst thou art here, there is no heaven like this."

A vein of tenderness was stirred in the Emperor Mu'izz-uddín when he read the affectionate missive of his father. The desire of meeting overcame him; the tears ran from his eyes; and he sent a few trustworthy men to Lak'hnautí, and wrote letters proposing an interview, and an arrangement was come to, that Mu'izz-uddín



should go from Dihlī to Audh, and Sultān Nāṣir-uddīn should come from Lak'hnaūtī to the banks of the river Sarw, and the meeting of father and son should take place there. Mu'izz-uddīn at first thought of departing for Audh privately; but Malik Nizām-uddīn represented that it was not a wise thing for the emperor to make so long a journey unattended. It was a great distance from Dihlī to Audh. The usages and ceremonies of royalty must be observed, and an escort corps of veterans organized before the journey could be commenced. "For," said he, "one empire cannot hold a father and son together. Our forefathers have said 'Almulku'aqīmūn' and the interpretation they put on those two Arabic words, is, that, when the lust of empire possesses them, fathers will kill their sons, and sons destroy their fathers; where an empire is at stake, the natural affection between fathers and sons is lost sight of; and for this cause, no matter what faith they held, fathers have slain their sons for the sake of their personal safety, and sons, carried away by the lust of empire, have laid waste their father's dominions. Nor has one ever suffered the other to be a hindrance to his ambition. On an occasion like this, where the emperor goes to meet his father, and that father is one who has imperial prayers read for him, and coins struck with his own superscription, and is in fact the legitimate heir of the empire, who knows what may happen, when the two forces meet together? It will be better for the emperor to take an army with him. Moreover splendour and pomp and reverence and respect are the inseparable concomitants of royalty, and as your Majesty's road lies through Hindūstān, all the chiefs and princes of the provinces will come to do fealty at your court, and if they only meet with a private reception, the awe and terror of the throne will be lessened in the eyes of the general public, and the submissive temper of many will change into stubborn opposition."

This counsel, which was obviously sound, approved itself to the emperor Mu'izz-uddīn, and he ordered a military force to be assembled, and the paraphernalia of imperial pomp to be got ready. In the course of a few days the preparations were complete, and with imperial state and a well-equipped force the Emperor took his departure for Audh. Reaching Audh they pitched the imperial

pavilion on the shore of the river Sarw. The emperor Nāṣir-uddīn, hearing of the approach of his son with a body of troops, surmised that Nizām-uddīn was bent on intimidating him; and, collecting all his army and his elephants, he came forth out of Lak'hnaūtī, and marching daily, reached the banks of the Sarw and encamped thereon. The two armies took up their positions on either side of the river, so that they could see each other's tents. For two or three days intelligencers went to and fro from either side, from father to son and from son to father, and brought and carried messages.

Finally the interview was arranged on this footing,—that Sultān Nāṣir-uddīn should acknowledge the respect and ceremony due to the Emperor of Dihlī, and cross the river Sarw, and come to see his son, and the son should be on his throne and the father should perform the ceremony of kissing his hand. Sultān Nāṣir-uddīn said—"I feel no reluctance at the thought of doing fealty to my son. True, he is my offspring, but he sits on the throne of Dihlī in my father's place, and the throne of Dihlī is a throne which commands veneration, and claims homage from all the kings of other climes. It is the due of the Emperor of Dihlī; and I though the son of the Emperor Balban, and though the throne of Dihlī was my right,—since it has accrued to my son, I hold it the same as if it had come to me, and passed to him after my death. If it has come to him during my lifetime, the happier for me. The empire of Dihlī is still vested in my house, and if on this occasion I fail to observe the respect due to the Emperor of Dihlī, and refuse to pay fealty to my son, and to stand in his presence with joined hands, the glory of the Emperor of Dihlī will be broken, and the damage will be mine, and my son's alika. Moreover my father enjoined on me as his last precept, that I should be leal and true to the Emperor of Dihlī, and pay duly the reverence which he can duly claim."

Thus it was settled; and the astrologers of the Court chose an auspicious day for the interview in reference to the stars of father and son, and on that day the place of audience was appointed over against the peacock\* dais, and there were set in order the magni-

\* I read طائسي conjecturally. I can make nothing of طائسي.

ficent paraphernalia of the reception, and Sultān Mu'izz-uddīn sat enthroned, and held high Court. Sultān Nācīr-uddīn entered by the lobby, and passed within the screen, and bowed his head to the ground in the place of obeisance, and thrice went through the ceremony of kissing the earth before the emperor. When he approached the throne, Sultān Mu'izz-uddīn could no longer endure the spectacle of his father's humiliation. Discarding his imperial pride, he came down from the throne, and fell at his father's feet. In his father's presence, the arrogance of royalty was forgotten. Gentler and softer feelings vibrated in the breasts of both. Father and son in a transport of affection melted into tears, and fell into each other's arms; and the father pressed his lips to his son's eyes, and kissed his cheeks, and the son, weeping, rubbed his eyes upon his father's feet. Those who were present and witnessed this outburst of tenderness raised a clamour of sympathy.

When after a while, calm was in some measure restored, the father took the son's hand, and handed him up to the throne, thinking to remain standing before him. But the son stepped down again, and caught the father's hand, and brought him up on the dais, and seated him on his right hand, and himself turned aside his face and sat in an attitude of humility before him.

Then with due ceremony several trays of gold and silver dīnārs, and vessels full of gold and silver tangas were showered over the heads of parent and child; and those who stood near the throne gathered up the dīnārs and tangas; and the trays and coffer used in the ceremony were flung to those who stood farther off; and the bards broke forth into strains of panegyric, and the melodious minstrels tuned their melodies, and the gold sticks and the mace-bearers and the footmen lifted up their voices, and the crowd scrambled for the scattered coins.

Whilst the attendants of the Court were thus variously engaged, father and son were so deeply affected by their interview, that the water coursed from their eyes, and the vehemence of their emotions so transported them, as to deprive them of the power of speech. At last the general entertainment came to an end. Father and son rose, and on the breaking up of the court, retired into a private apartment where they sat awhile conversing. Then the Sultān

Nāṣir-uddīn returned, and crossing the river came into his own camp.

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PART II.—THE INTERVIEW BETWEEN SULTA'N NA'SIR-UPDĪN AND  
SULTA'N MU'IZZ-UPDĪN.

From time to time the father sent to his son rare gifts and delicate fruits, and the son to the father presents of sweetmeats and wines and desserts of princely magnificence. On the second day of their meeting the Emperor Mu'izz-uddīn said—"My empire is my father's, and there is no rancour or antagonism between us, let the orders for one army be the orders for both, and let the men of either side and their relatives and friends meet together, and go to and fro, and visit each other in mutual confidence, and let the markets be open to both armies alike." A few days afterwards on the approach of the day of parting, a herald mounted on an elephant proclaimed an order to both armies, forbidding any soldier of the army of Dihlī to remain without permission in the borders of Lak'hnaūtī, and prohibiting the men of Lak'hnaūtī from coming into the territory of Dihlī. Then for some days in succession the Emperor Nāṣir-uddīn came to his son and both Emperors sat and held their court together, and while they took their pleasure they spoke together, and drank to the memory of great men and their deeds, counting the happiness of present intercourse too dear for any mention of parting, a word inauspicious as death, to be suffered to cross their lips. One day, while the hours sped thus happily, the Emperor Nāṣir-uddīn told how his father, the Emperor Balban had brought him up, and wept copiously, and said to his son—"When I and my elder brother had acquired the first rudiments of speaking and writing under the care of a skilful scribe, our tutors asked the Emperor what instruction in grammar and syntax and divinity was next to be given to the princes, what were his Majesty's commands, and what master should instruct us? He said—'Let them give the scribe a robe and a present and let him go, and let learned clerks and professors teach my sons the book of the courtesies of Emperors and the compilation of the acts of the Emperors which has been continued from (the caliphs of)

Baghdād down to the princes of my family, the sons of Sultān Shams-uddīn. Next let my sons have at their side old men of practice and experience, proficient in the science of history and the lives of notables, and let no mean-souled servile rascals be permitted to prowl round them. The science which such fellows devote themselves to, can be of no service to my sons. As to matters of prayers and fasting and ablution, and the like, they want no teaching. They have learnt thus much themselves.\* So my brother and I studied the book of the courtesies of kings under Tāj-uddīn Bukhārī, one of the court attendants of Shams-uddīn, and repeated it from beginning to end before him, and when we had finished the book and repeated it before the Emperor, Shams-uddīn presented Khwājah Tāj-uddīn, who was an old man and full of years, with two villages and a hundred thousand jitals. In the beginning of that book, it is stated that Jamshed, who was one of the most famous sovereigns of the earth, used often to say to his sons that no clan-leader (*sar-i-khail*) who had not ten horsemen, picked men and good, should have the title of a clan-leader, and no captain (*sipah-sālār*) who had not ten clan-leaders at his beck and wholly at his disposal, even to their wives and children,\* deserved to be called a captain, nor should a commander (*amīr*) who had not ten captains in his charge be called by that name, and if a governor (*malik*) had not ten commanders under him, it was mere absurdity to give him the title of governor, and a prince (*khān*) of a tribe who had not ten governors under him should be held to be no prince at all, nor was it meet to give the name of a ruler and a sovereign to a king (*pādishāh*) who had less than ten princes as his coadjutors and assistants. A king without resources like this is a mere landholder, a lord of wide lands. And an essential condition of kingship is, that all the clan-leaders and the lords should be men of sagacity and of good birth, and sons of distinguished men, not vile, and mean, of low origin and unmanly, nameless parvenus.† Having thus spoken, Jamshed went on to say, if a king is possessed of such aids and coadjutors, and such a multitude of retainers as I mentioned, the counsels of his govern-

\* I suspect the text of this passage نگذار \* در تبع او \* to be corrupt.

† Literally, without head or root.

ment will accomplish themselves according to his wish, and the results of his labours in administration will be stable and lasting. Such was the counsel which came to me as a heritage from Kaiúmars, my forefather, and of all the conditions of royalty which the ministers and governors in the presence of Kaiúmars laid down so accurately, the chief of all, without which kingship is impossible, and the title is empty and meaningless is that which I have instanced. And that condition, Jamshed said, had been fulfilled throughout his reign, and to the maxim of Kaiúmars, he attributed the augmentation of the glory and splendour and success which had attended him. And the meaning of Kaiúmars, he said, was that, without a body of retainers of the magnitude and character mentioned, a king could not be a king, but the more their numbers and loyalty were increased, the more dazzling would be the splendour of the throne, the more perfect and consistent and successful the administration, and the fuller the light shed over the counsels of the empire. So, after reciting the maxims of Jamshed, Sultán Náçir-uddín said to Sultán Mu'izz-uddín: "My son, the light of my vision, and my eye and my lamp, dearer to me than life itself! In the midst of pleasure and gaiety and debauchery, where can there be the will to strive after counsels of great kings and to put in practice the precepts of administrators and rulers? There is yet another maxim in the book of the courtesies of kings which to wise and sagacious kings of noble origin and descent is profitable and salutary." And Náçir-uddín went on to say; "As a sequel of the maxim I quoted, I have read in the same book that Jamshed said: 'It is impossible to regard or speak of a king as a ruler or administrator who has not sufficient wealth in his treasury to serve him in the event of rebellion or invasion to repulse the enemy without involving his subjects in the calamity of famine. For kings who supply themselves from the purses of all their subjects, ought they not to have wealth enough to be able in time of calamity or famine or distress to take as much care of their subjects as of their personal followers? What sort of a king is he, who asserts himself to be a king, and calls himself lord and master of his subjects, and yet gives them no relief in their difficulties and afflictions, and thinks it meet that his subjects should die of hunger?

Rather in justice and truth, ought we to call him a king and deem him such, in whose realm no man sleeps hungry and naked, who makes such regulations and enacts such laws, that under their protection all his subjects are safe from distress, or at least from such distress as involves destruction of life.' ”

Having thus counselled his son, Sultān Nāṣir-uddīn turned to go. Mu'izz-uddīn said—“ It is the fate of my crown that of all the wise and experienced followers of my grandfather, there is not one faithful spirit left in the halls of my palace to admonish and exhort me now and again, and rouse me from the sleep of negligence. And when a king, out of fatherly compassion, urges on me a few counsels tending to the good of religion and the welfare of my realm, this fatherly compassion is matter for wonder and surprise.” Sultān Nāṣir-uddīn said—“ O my son, you who are seated in my father's place, and who have succeeded to my heritage in my lifetime, I have seen much trouble, and I have come to you with the intention, which I still hold, of speaking a few words of advice in your ear, and making your pleasure bitter to you with the bitterness of warning, and on the day we part, I will say what is in my mind.”

So on the day which was fixed for father and son to part, Sultān Nāṣir-uddīn, before sunrise, came to his son, and said, “ Order the morning meal to be put off till later in the day : I have a few words to say to you, and I wish to say them to-day in private audience. Order Nizām-uddīn and Qiyām-uddīn, who are now at the head of political affairs, to be present at the audience that they may hear what I have to say, and harbour no suspicions.” Sultān Mu'izz-uddīn directed that no stranger (*nā-muharram*) should be admitted to the audience, and Malik Nizām-uddīn, Chief Justice, (*Amir-i-dād*) and Malik Qiyām-uddīn his secretary,\* were summoned to the audience, and both were desired to sit down. And Sultan Nasir-uddīn having come into the private chamber, charged with good counsels for his son's ear, began by weeping bitterly and said—“ Oh my boy, though you are my son, yet of a surety this day you sit in my father's place, and are entitled to reverence accordingly, no man but a father can wish another to be

\* *Nāqah* ? A word, perhaps *ḍabīr*, seems to have dropped out of the text, or *ilāqah* may be some obsolete title.

more prosperous than himself. A father may have such a wish for his son, and for you I desire prosperity a hundred-fold greater than has fallen to my lot. And in those days when I heard that the kotwals had seated you on the throne, and had become your hand and arm, I was glad beyond measure, reflecting that Lak'h-nauti being mine, and Dihli having fallen to my son, my own power and dignity was a thousand-fold enhanced, and it was in the strength of your sovereignty that I issued in my own name the coins and manifestos (*khuṭbah*) of this realm. Since then for two years past, I have heard such stories of your profligacy and negligence and indifference, I wonder how your vices have left you in peace up to this hour on the throne of the kingdom, how there can be any vigilance in your government, how your kingdom and country, your governors and officers, your dependants and army and subjects, your treasury and income and expenditure can be under your control, or how any can look to your justice and favour, or hold themselves obedient to your behest. And yet, methinks, you know that the great and glorious God has created nothing in the universe sweeter and dearer than the world, and of all things in the world that are sweet and dear, He has brought into being nothing sweeter or dearer than empire, which is His vicegerency.\* Is it not from the utter and exceeding sweetness of empire, that the affection that binds father to son is dissolved, and thus it comes to pass that the father slays the son, and the son sheds his father's blood, or causes him to be poisoned, or lives night and day in longing for his death? No chief in the world worthy of the name but aims to be chief of all; and from the day when I heard of your recklessness, and continued indulgence in pleasure, I have made lamentation for the empire of my father, and seen you and myself and both our kingdoms on the verge of annihilation; and ever since the news reached me that you were putting to death my father's servants and chosen officers, loyal men, whose death must needs have estranged from you the loyalty of the rest, a presage of your ruin has weighed upon my mind. I know, if you do not, how my father had to wade through blood to attain the kingdom of Dihli, and himself several times narrowly escaped destruction,

*Niyābat* is evidently intended. *Nihāyat* is an error of the text.



and how some years elapsed before he secured the empire which was the object of his ambition, and how he wrested it from the hands of men possessed of all the advantages of birth, and wealth and previous renown, who had divided\* the land of Shams-uddīn amongst them and made it their prey, and who rose up against him from every quarter,—and how it was only by a long course of stratagems and device, that he eventually crushed his opponents. And yet because the kingdom has come into your hands easily and without toil, you despise it, and reckon it a light thing to slay the son of my elder brother, while I was foot-tied at Lak'lmautī, a brother who, naturally fitted for sovereignty, became a martyr in his father's lifetime. Saving us four, there was no other heir in the kingdom of Balban. Immediately that you are removed, this kingdom will fall into the hands of another family and another tribe, and they will not leave a name or trace of us on the face of the earth. God only knows what havoc another family, whether good or bad, may make in this land among our followers and comrades and tribesmen and servants and mistresses, and what disgrace and dishonour they may inflict on the inmates of our harems. My father who grew old in experiences as Malik, Khān, and king, used to say, 'I could if I wished beget sons and daughters in plenty from my wives and concubines, but I have heard from the leaders of our faith and the leaders of our people alike, that a king should not have many sons and daughters; for if the kingdom fall into the hands of one son, that son must admit all his brothers and cousins to partnership with himself, or he must slay them all or disperse them into distant climes.' And so with a king's sons-in-law. With the royal nuptials, the scent of dominion mounts into their brains, and leads them inevitably to their fate. When a king gives himself up to sensual indulgence, and begets many sons, it is as though with his own hands he had given them to the sacrifice. On the other hand if the kingdom do not fall to the king's son, but to a stranger, the new king's administration will not prosper, nor be secure until he has exterminated the counsellors, and adherents, and followers and comrades of the previous king. Oh my

\* *Qist*, قسمت, is plainly wrong. قسمت, *qismat*, is the most obvious emendation.

son, be well assured that you owe your two years' continuance on the throne to the awe inspired by your grandfather, who drove down the roots of monarchy so deep in the garden of the empire, that wind and storm have not availed to shake it. Were it not so, no man of your stamp could maintain himself a day in the kingdom. My son, you seem to have no thought for your life: does not your mirror show you, when you look into it, how your complexion which was brighter than the red rose, has turned paler than saffron? A man who has no care for his health, will reck little of sound and wholesome counsels in his government, and one who has no solicitude about his own life, is not likely to be solicitous about any created thing. How can such recklessness and indifference co-exist with the slightest care of the people who constitute the wealth of the ruler? I am grieved with your words and deeds, and being your father I can speak out of my grief bitter truths in your ear; and yet, myself excepted, there is not a living soul, nor can there be, however friendly and well-disposed towards you, who would tell you to your face what is for your good. I doubt not, that the pride engendered by the few days of royalty that have passed over your head, and the sight of a whole people flocking to your gates may make it hard for you to listen to me. But if you can only be sober for a few days, you will think over my words, and recognize their importance.

"Oh my son! my father used to say that empire consists in five things, and if they are not known and practised, the empire cannot remain stable. The first is—to practise justice and benignity; the second, to strengthen your army and to protect and cherish your subjects; the third, to amass treasure; the fourth, to treat with consideration the ministers and counsellors of the throne, and the fifth to be well-informed about the inhabitants of your kingdom, far and near. And when you take no heed of any of the five principles of government, how can the realm remain secure to you? My son, I dread these habits of yours which have come under my notice, and the customs you have addicted yourself to during these two years of your reign, (pardon me for speaking thus,) and the people, the gluttons and the voluptuaries, and the pleasure-seekers, and the tellers of idle tales whom I have seen in your

court. They will never let you draw back a moment from satisfying your soul's lust, or suffer you to devote yourself to the care of your kingdom and country, of your lords and vassals, and of the regulation of your finance, though all your happiness henceforth depends on your attention to these things. But the feelings of a father have prompted me to speak in your ear a few words of advice which may abide in your mind, and to take you in my embrace, and print a kiss on your eyes and cheek, and bid you a last farewell and go my way.

"And the first maxim of your father is, Hold your kingdom dear, but your life dearer still. A little while, though you fear not your God or your people, yet for your own life's sake withdraw from pleasure and dissipation, and study to preserve your life, and abandon wholly and entirely a practice, of which I cannot speak for shame, but the excess of which has brought you to your present condition. Spare your own life, for the great men before my time have said, 'First life, then empire; and where life is out of joint, where is the use of empire?' And of a truth, my son, your life is out of joint, though you know it not.

"And the second maxim is this, Refrain from slaying the maliks, and again, Destroy no malik who is a prop of the realm. If you annihilate your ministers, there will remain no one in the kingdom, who will place any confidence in you, and when the confidence of the subjects is withdrawn from the king, the stability of the kingdom is gone. Rather with courtesy and kindness and condescension and intelligence and wisdom turn your enemies into friends and well-wishers, and do not relax your watchfulness whatever may arrive.

"And these two persons who are sitting before you, I mean Nizām-uddīn and Qiyām-uddīn, are good members of your court who know their work and do it. Choose out two others like them from your court and city, and make them four pillars to your kingdom, and with these four pillars make the fort of your sovereignty strong and stable, and work out your policy through their agency. To one of the four, give the office of vizier, and make his rank greater than that of the rest; and to the second, give the office of envoy, and place reliance on what he may say or report; and to

the third, entrust the duty of receiving petitions, and let him have the management of your personal staff; and to the fourth, give the office of secretary, and trust to his opinion and discernment and good judgment for the conduct of foreign correspondence and that with your judicial and revenue officers. Be always equally accessible to all four officers alike. As for the counsellors of the state who may have a knowledge of the causes of the prosperity or decline of the country, adapt yourself to their views.\* Do not mix up together the different offices of government, nor give all kinds of business into the hands of one, and do not let any one of your four ministers or any other of your courtiers get the upper hand over you, nor endue any one with absolute authority over the people, nor act so as to let the people conspire to resist you.

“The third saying of your father is this,—When you have selected four men duly qualified who know their work and will do it, and on whose gratitude and loyalty you can rely for the accomplishment of the counsels of your government, and when you have admitted them to share your political secrets, and have confided to them the theories and principles of your administration, every order you issue, and every opinion you express, and every measure you adopt in those four departments, and every political secret that you disclose,—all should be done in the presence of all four officers. And though the rank of vizier may be more exalted, yet for you the true statecraft is, not to give to any one of these four persons whom you may have made the pillars of your state, any such exceptional precedence as to be a source of irritation and offence to the minds of the other three. Be vigilant to note the good and evil qualities of the ministers of your will. Adhere to the settled usages by which your grandfather governed the country, and do not alter the rules of his administration, or add to, or take from, the practice of that far-seeing king; and do not carry your affability to the people so far as to destroy the sense of fear and dread and awe in which you should be held. If once the dread and awe of kingly dominion pass away from the minds of your subjects, then you are reduced to their level, and your command ceases to carry

\* Such is the interpretation of this passage suggested to me by a native scholar, but I am far from being satisfied with it. Perhaps it means, attach to yourself the men who are capable of forming an opinion.

weight enough to secure its execution. But all that I have enjoined cannot become possible to you until you abstain from wine-drinking in excess.

"The fourth thing I had to say to you is, that I have heard that you repeat no prayers, and do not keep the fast of Ramazān, and you cheat yourself with the excuses suggested by sciolists, dishonest, false to their creed, led by the lust of silver coins, and the glittering lure\* of wealth, who have given you a dispensation to eat in fast time, and have told you to set free a slave or give victuals to sixty poor every fast day that you eat. You have listened to the voice of those birds of evil omen, and have not heeded the saying of true and honest men, that every one who eats during the fast of the month of Ramazān will die young. My boy, many is the time your grandfather said, kings and true Musalmāns should trust and act on the sayings of those who are spiritually wise, and not admit to their presence those servants who deal in casuistries and teach awry, nor act on the sophistries and glosses of dishonest men. Often have I heard from my father that wise men are of two kinds, the spiritually wise whom their God keeps apart from the world, and the love of the world and the lust of worldly things, and the worldly wise, who, from avarice, and friendship for the world and desire of the world, like dogs, violently and in hot haste hurry from door to door, dealing in death and calamity and heresies and mischievous doctrines which form their stock in trade. One can only call him a discriminating and pious king, who does nothing according to the saying of these worldly wise, and does not allow doctors, who hold the world dearer than their souls, to busy themselves with the divine precepts and commands, and suffers not the law of the blessed prophet to be robbed of its lustre in their leadership,—who asks no advice concerning his own religious conduct of covetous and avaricious men, who count the world their god; and if he desire his own salvation in matters of faith and matters of the world, entrusts the commands of the law of the blessed prophet to those sages who have turned away their faces

\* *Murdañreg*. This is possibly the same word as *murdañre* which is explained by Richardson to be the effects of a dead person. There may be a reference to fortune-hunting, but I prefer the rendering of "mirage" given by some of the best Persian dictionaries.

from the world and look on tankas and jetals as on snakes and scorpions. A king should enquire on matters of religion from sages such as these, and guide his labours by the judgment of God-fearing men.\* Now, my son, you have served in your grandfather's presence, and have seen to what extent he occupied himself in fasting and prayers, in works of absolute duty and works of supererogation.\* There was no sage or reverend man who had such strength to fast and pray as the Sultán Balban, your grandfather. If he heard that one prayer had been omitted by my brother or myself, or that we had overslept ourselves, and had neglected to offer up our morning prayer in the congregation, he would not speak to us for a month; and if he heard that any one had once omitted a prayer, whenever that person came into his presence, he would turn away his face from him. I have heard from many holy men that whoever eats during the fast of the month of Ramazán will die young, and the man who does not pray, cannot be counted a Musalmán nor addressed as such, and it is no sin to spill his blood.

"And, O my son, forasmuch as it is a hard thing to die, especially for a king who has to leave so many things that make life pleasant, and harder than all for a king to die young, carrying with him a wistful regret into the other world,† listen to your father's last precept. Do not eat during the fast of the Ramazán, and offer prayers in every way you know, and remove not from near you one wise God-seeking man, for while thousands care for the world, he will care for your religion."

Such were the good counsels of Sultán Náciq-uddín; and he wept aloud, and clasping Sultán Mu'izz-uddín in his arms, bade him farewell.

And in that last moment, while kissing his son's eyes and cheeks, and embracing him again and again, he whispered in his ear, "Be quick and put Nizám-uddín out of the way. If after this, he finds an opportunity, he will not leave you on the throne a day."

With these words he turned away weeping, and as he went, twice or thrice repeated this verse :

\* نوافل, *Nawáfil*.

† Or as *zamán tá ásmán* may mean simply 'to an excessive degree.'

Ohide not my tears, though like a shower  
 Of spring they gush in rivers;  
 For rocks might weep to rue the hour  
 That friend from friend's lissevers.

Those who witnessed the sorrow and the weeping and the anguish of that hour of parting, were affected even to tears, and for many a long day after, the spectacle lived in the memory of the beholders. And the story goes, that on the day of his return, Sulṭán Náṣir-uddín, as he mounted his horse, uttered a cry of grief, and all through that day's journey continued weeping, and tasted no food, and said to the bystanders, and his attendants; "I have bidden adieu for ever to my son and the empire of Dihlí. I know for a certainty that in a very short time my son will be living no more, and the empire of Dihlí will be dissolved."

### PART III.—RETURN OF MU'IZZ-UDDÍN.

So Sulṭán Mu'izz-uddín returned from Audh towards Dihlí, and for a few days followed his father's advice, and forsook the haunts of revelry and mirth, and drank no wine, and listened to no songs, and summoned no fair damsels to his presence. But far and wide was the fame of his lavish gifts, and his devotion to pleasure, and his dainty and fastidious voluptuousness bruited through the cities of the provinces; and so patent to the world was his beauty-worship and libertinism, that notorious rufflers and gray sinners in the hope of making acceptable offerings to the king, had trained beautiful girls,—irresistible with their bright glances and radiant wit,—to sing and strike the lute, and chant canzonets, and utter pretty raileries, and to play at drafts and chess. And every moon-bright darling, bale of the city and scourge of the world,—was disciplined in divers ways, and, ere her budding bosom expanded in the garden of youth, was taught to ride her horse at speed, and play at ball, and cast the javelin, and become adept in every lively and elegant accomplishment. They were instructed in divers acts of fascination, which would make monks idolaters, and seduce the most devout to intoxication,—syrens of Hindústán, slave-boys shapely as the cypress, and damsels shining as the moon, skilled

in Persian and singing, pranked in gold and trinkets and embroidered dresses and brocade, soul-alluring puppets schooled in all the civilities and courtesies and fashions of the court, peerless smooth-faced boys with their ear-drops of pearl, and damsels robed like brides in their wedding glories ;—and the masters of minstrelsy and the subtle conjurors who had in secret prepared lays in Persian and Hindí, and had embodied the praises of the Sultán in epigram and ballad and madrigal and comic song, and mimics and buffoons who, with a single jest would betray the saddest into a burst of merriment, and make the jovial hold their sides for excess of laughter,—all these came from far countries to feed on the bounty of the Sultán. And the tavern-keepers of Koel and Mí-at'h brought wines in vessels from their stills redolent of musk and guiltless of headaches, and presented them to the king.

Mu'izz uddín had travelled four or five stages on his homeward route to Dihlí. Every day a bevy of fair girls with shapes like the cypress and cheeks like the rose, who would make idolaters of the most continent, and for whose sake the holiest would renounce their faith, were stationed by the road-side, and when the Sultán's suite approached, came forward and sang. The king, though his heart drew him towards their moonlike forms, and his soul went forth in response to their allurements, from shame on account of his father's warnings which had reached the ears of all his army, put restraint on himself and endured patiently.\* He only glanced stealthily at them from the corners of his eyes, and now and again a desire to address them passed through his mind.

But one day he met on the way a cavalier urchin of lovely appearance and saucy mien, a very snare of calamity, wearing an embroidered vest, with a quiver encrusted with gold slung at his side, and arrows in the quiver, and a cap of imperial cut perked over his ear. He was mounted on a grey jennet that bore its white tail high in the air, and arrayed in gilded trappings and a hauberk set with studs in hunter's fashion, and black tassels swung on his charger's breast. Like the chosen champion of the field of beauty, he burst through the body guard, and galloped and wheel-

\* Read *bar-i-shikebhá*, the fruit of endurances. I don't know what else to make of it.



ed and spurred in front of the royal cortège. And the by-standers and the guard thought it must surely be a prince in pursuit of game who thus dazzled the beholders with his wanton tricks and feats of horsemanship. Again that life-confusing heart-ruining beauty fled like an arrow from the field and turned again and came in front of the imperial canopy; and the body guards and gold-sticks that marched before the king's staff, bearing firelocks and maces in their hands, were so confounded at the beauty of the elf, that they were powerless to prevent his approach. In the twinkling of an eye, the eye and lamp of beauty reached the royal canopy, leaped from the saddle and prostrating himself before the king's horse chanted the following distich in melodious and ravishing tones,

Will but thy will and trample on my eyes,  
I lay them in the dust upon thy path,

and said, "King of the world! the exordium of this ode is a fit compliment to your Majesty; but I am afraid and cannot repeat it." The king looking on the youth exclaimed, *Walláh*, and enchanted with his speech reined in his steed and with his own lips said, "Speak and fear not." That breaker of the scruples of the abstinent, cried,

Silver-bodied cypress! thou art going to the desert,  
Right treacherously thou goest, in going without me.

Thus quoting, with a thousand blandishments and amorous gestures, he addressed the king, "So many of us, sweet charmers as we are, enamoured of the king's beauty have come from many far distant places, and his majesty thrusts us aside and passes on. Are we not even meet attendants at the banquet?"

The king, already enamoured of his beauty and wit, wavered on the verge of distraction. He could hardly refrain from dismounting from his horse, and taking him to his arms. In the tumult of his feelings, wound to a higher pitch by the melody of the charmer's voice, he utterly lost his self-control, cast his good resolves to the wind, and called for wine on the spot, and taking the royal cup in his hands quaffed it in the presence of the lovely boy, reciting these lines—

"At night, I forswear the red wine, my Ganymede's witchery fearing,  
"In the morning he dawns on my eyes, and I find my resolves disappearing."

When that ruin of the Moslem faith heard these lines recited, he retorted again in verse, singing in still sweeter and more seductive tones :

My looks bewitch both saints and shrews,  
My smile,—no spells withstand it;  
Nor curst ascetic can refuse  
The wine-cup when I hand it.

At this display of his charms, his graceful mien, his musical voice, and courtly address, the spectators remained spell-bound, forming a hundred wishes to sacrifice themselves for him.\* He meanwhile made his horse curvet and caracole, and seizing his bow, and fitting an arrow to the string, went seeking a partridge under the stones. The sight was one which struck the whole army dumb. The reins fell from their hands, their eyes were chained, and their road was forgotten, while their souls flew circling round that mine of graces. Suddenly the king arrived at his pavilion and alighted. A banquet was prepared. That fomentor of disturbances was called, and the king with unconcealed ardour said, "We will drink wine from no hands but yours; you shall be our Ganyমেদে to-day." He replied—

"Though my beauty surpasses bright Artemis' ring,  
Not the less am I slave of the slaves of the king."

Repeating this couplet, he filled the bowl and handed it to the king, who took it in his hands, and dazed with the sight of his world-illuminating beauty, repeated this verse—

"When the circling bowl comes round to me,  
Sweet cup-bearer, prithee pass me by!  
Let me drink love's wine as I gaze on thee,  
And gaze and drink till I die!"

The cup-bearer bowed his head to the ground, and with playful *empressment*, a curve in his brow, and a twinkle in his eyes, twice said "Drink, king of the world, drink! The king said—

"If thou present the wine-cup to the king,  
Who'll dare to call it a forbidden thing?"

Literally \* to whirl themselves over his head,—an allusion to a superstitious ceremony, which survives, I think, in India in the practice of twirling a *chapâti* round a bride's head, and then throwing it to a distance—All her ill-luck is supposed to be drawn into the *chapâti* and fly away with it.

Then, while the king of the cup-bearers cried "Drink, drink!" turning to Ziā-i-Jahjahī, he said laughing, "That is no bad mandate of the cup-bearer's." Ziā-uddīn Jahjahī bowed and answered \* \* ? " "

[This is followed by a description, as wild as the scenes of revelry which it paints, of the progress of the Emperor to Dihli, and his entry into the city. The recital, says the author, carries him back to the times of his youth; and, even in age and penury, his heart warms and his veins flush with the recollection of the scenes of mirth and festivity in which he was long ago an actor. He observes that the three years of Mu'izz-uddīn's reign, however barren of enterprise, were undisturbed by disaffection and unstained by bloodshed. The personal popularity of the young king mitigated the dangers which he neglected to provide against, but in his natural tendency to gentleness, he forgot that it is the union of vigour with clemency, and of dignity with affability that renders a throne stable and a crown secure; and had it not been that maliks Nizām-uddīn and Qiyām-uddīn, his chief ministers were men of no ordinary capacity, sagacious and circumspect, themselves of noble birth, and beloved and respected by the nobility, the day that saw him assume the sceptre, would have seen it wrested from his grasp. He closes his narration as follows: ]

I resume the story of Mu'izz-uddīn's reign. After he returned from Audh, for awhile no event of importance occurred; but his health was impaired, and excessive incontinence made him weak and pale. He was anxious to act upon his father's advice and rid himself of Nizām-uddīn; but he did not reflect that as long as there was no one to take Nizām-uddīn's place, to remove him would only aggravate his difficulties a hundred-fold. At last, he ordered Nizām-uddīn to Multān, ostensibly to check the disorder prevailing there. Nizām-uddīn divined that his removal was due to some injunction which the Emperor had received from his father, and feared that his absence would afford an opportunity to his enemies at Court to work his ruin. He delayed his departure. The courtiers discovered that the emperor was bent on removing him. The day they had so long secretly watched for, had arrived. With great precaution and privacy, they obtained the Emperor's

permission to put a deadly poison in Nizám-uddín's wine. They did so, and on the same day he died; and all the people of Dihlí knew that he had been poisoned. And after his death the little stability there was in Mu'izz-uddín's empire, was shaken out of it.\* A crowd of vagabonds thronged the gates of the palace; business was at a stand still, and the whole system of government seemed to collapse. It was at this juncture that the future Emperor Jalál-uddín, who was then governor of Samána, came to court and accepted office, and an attempt was made to carry on the administration, but the jealousy and intrigues of the lords and courtiers rendered the ministry powerless. Meanwhile Mu'izz-uddín was attacked with palsy and convulsions, and daily grew worse, till there was little hope of his recovery. The Bulban party was the first to take decisive action. They brought the infant son of Mu'izz-uddín out of the harem and set him on the throne, and gave him the title of Sultán Shams-uddín. While this was going on, and Mu'izz-uddín lay sick and helpless in his villa of Kílúk'hari, Jalál-uddín betook himself to Bahárpúr and rallied round him a strong party of relatives and adherents, but not unobserved. Etmár Kachhán and Etmár Surkha on the Turkish side resolved to entrap him, and sent a memorial, addressing him as the Emperor Jalál-uddín. And Etmár Kachhán started with a small escort with the intention of decoying him from Bahárpúr, and carrying him off, and putting him to death in the palace of Shams-uddín. But Jalál-uddín suspected the plot, and the instant that Etmár Kachhán reached his door, he was pulled down from his horse and his head severed from his body. And Jalál-uddín's sons, acting on the inspiration of the moment, took with them a troop of fifty horse, and rode openly into the Emperor's Court, and dragged the son of the Emperor Mu'izz-uddín from the throne, and sent him a prisoner to their father.

On this the citizens rose in a body, and great and small, nobles and commoners, poured out of the twelve gates of the city and took the road to Bahárpúr, bent on rescuing the Emperor's son. For the citizens abhorred the thought of being ruled by the Khiljis,

\* Up to this point I have endeavoured to give a faithful translation. The remainder is a mere loose paraphrase.

and held Jalāl-uddīn in great aversion. But the kotwāl, acting in the interest of his own sons, put down the tumult in the city and turned the people back, and dispersed the crowd that had gathered round the Radāon gate, and many of the maliks and nobles in spite of their Turkish descent went over to Jalāl-uddīn's side and joined his camp, and the Khiljī force became numerous.

Two days after the above events, they sent a malik, whose father had been put to death by Mu'izz-uddīn, into Kílúk'hari, with instructions to destroy the sick emperor. He passed into the fort and finding Mu'izz-uddīn with only a glimmer of life left in him, stifled him in his robe, and flung the body into the stream, which bore it away.

The malik Chahjhū, the emperor Balban's cousin, who was next heir to the throne, received an assignment of land at Karrah, and was sent there. And friends and opponents alike joined to instal Jalāl-uddīn as Emperor. He mounted his horse and came with a great concourse from Bahárpūr, and alighted at Mu'izz-uddīn's fort of Kílúk'hari, and there took his seat on the throne and assumed the government.

His accession was distasteful to the mass of the citizens, and, knowing this, for a long time he never ventured within the walls of Dihlí, and the palace and throne of the ancient kings remained vacant and disused. Dihlí was then full of men of rank and wealth, but no voice of congratulation hailed the installation of Jalāl-uddīn. The popular feeling was adverse to the Khiljis, but from the day of Mu'izz-uddīn's death the sovereignty fell to that race and passed away for ever from the family of the Turks.

God is the king of kingdoms, and He still  
 Taketh from whom, giveth to whom He will.  
 On whom He smileth, honour gilds his name :  
 On whom He frowneth, press disgrace and shame.  
 Or blessings fall from Him or curses shower,  
 Peerless His goodness, and unmatched His power.

TRANSLATIONS FROM THE TARIKH I FIRUZ SHAHI BY ZIA  
UDDIN OF BARAN.

(*Bibl. Indica Edition*, p. 413.)

THE REIGN OF SULTAN GHIASUDDIN TUGHLUQ SHAH.—*Translated by*  
AUCKLAND COLVIN, ESQ., C. S.

• *Malik Fakhruddin Joná, called also Sultán Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughluq Sháh, deserts Khusrau Khán; and flies to Deobálpúr, to his Father Gházi Malik (Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh). Gházi Malik marches from Deobálpúr to Delhi, to take vengeance on Khusrau Khán and his followers. Khusrau Khán despatches his renegade brother and Çáfi Khán, to oppose Gházi Malik, who defeats them.*

Now when two and a half months had passed from the accession of Khusrau Khán, the destruction of the house of 'Aláuddín and Quṭbuddín, and the rout and dispersion of their followers and dependants, Malik Fakhruddin Joná, called also Sultán Muhammad, son of Tughluq Sháh, began to take counsel with certain of the chiefs of the nobles and captains of the house of 'Aláuddín and Quṭbuddín; and gathered courage and waxed bold; and his heart was stirred within him, so that he determined to avenge his former masters and benefactors. Placing his trust in God, he took horse, with a certain number of his servants, at the hour of afternoon prayer; and separated himself from Khusrau Khán, and would have no dealings with him or with his party. And because in the hour of danger there are never wanting horsemen and footmen to side with the valiant, many others also went with him; and they hastened in the direction of Deobálpúr. Then what had come to pass was told to Khusrau Khán in the same day at the hour of evening prayer: and he and his followers feared because of the departure of a man, himself a valiant captain, and the son of the conqueror of Khurásán and Hindústán. The multitude of the evil-minded and rebellious, seeing that he had fled to his father, were at their wits' end, and could take no counsel, and his kingdom became a burden to Khusrau Khán, and the delight of his followers was turned into bitterness. Then there were sent in pursuit of him certain rebel horsemen, led by the son of Muhammad Qurrah Qímár,

who had been made General of the Forces. But Sultān Muhammad, son of the Lord of Irān and Tūrān, ceased not to travel through the night, and on the next day arrived at Sarsuti, and the horsemen who pursued him were unable to overtake him, and returned whence they had come, discomfited. While Sultān Muhammad was still on his way to Sarsuti, his father, Ghāzī Malik Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Tughluq Shāh, had sent Muhammad Sartabah, with two hundred horsemen, from Deobālpūr to Sarsuti, and had seized upon the Fort at that place. So, passing through Sarsuti, Sultān Muhammad came in safety to his father at Deobālpūr; and his father rejoiced greatly, and gave thanks to God, because his son had been restored to him; and he ordered that they should give alms, and beat the drums in token of rejoicing.

Then Ghāzī Malik determined that he would take vengeance on the Parwāris and the Hindús, because they had slain his master, and he began to prepare an host with which he should destroy the Parwāris. But the rebel Khusrau Khān, who, by the aid of the Parwāris, had given to himself the title of Sultān Naqiruddīn, appointed his renegade brother and Yūsuf Qúfī to the command of an army, with elephants and treasure. And to one he gave the title of KhānKhānān, and the other he named Qúfī Khān. And he ordered them to proceed from Delhi in the direction of Deobālpūr, and to oppose Ghāzī Malik, and give battle to him. Also to his brother he gave the royal insignia. So those two Captains without experience set out from Delhi with their treasure and their elephants, like to chicken who, breaking the egg and creeping from under their mother's wing, at once essay to fly; and because they were presumptuous beyond measure, and ignorant beyond belief, they delayed not to hurry to encounter Ghāzī Malik, and to seek out him who was a captain among captains, and exceeding terrible; from the stroke of whose sword, Khorāsān and Mughulistán still reeled. Now Qúfī Khān, the renegade, before that he had started, went and stood before the men of God and such as had withdrawn themselves from the world, and commanded of them that they should offer up prayers and supplication on his behalf. But those just men, in the presence of Qúfī Khān and of his followers, and also after their departure, ceased not by

day and night to pray to God in this wise, and with a hidden meaning, saying, "Oh Lord God, in the battle between the Parwáris and Ghází Malik, let him who is the friend of the faith of Islám prevail." And it came to pass that their prayers were heard, and there was granted to Ghází Malik victory, because, it was he who was fighting for Islám. Then those two Captains, who knew not what it was that they had undertaken, but were ignorant and void of experience, and who were fighting in an evil cause, arrived before Sarsutí. But they were unable to take Sarsutí out of the hands of the horsemen of Ghází Malik, and unwilling to encamp before it and besiege it. And because they were fools and without experience, they hastened on, and left behind them Sarsutí in the hands of the enemy. Full of vain confidence and conceit, like striplings in the presence of the mighty ones, being blinded with presumption, they pressed on to give battle to the terrible leader who had many times utterly discomfited and overthrown the bands of the Mughuls. But Ghází Malik, about the time that those foolish Captains had begun to march from Delhi, called to him from Ucha, Malik Bahrán Aibah, who was of the faithful, who came and joined himself to Ghází Malik at Deobálpúr, bringing with him horsemen and footmen. And when it was told to Ghází Malik, the soldier of Islám, and the scourge of the infidel and the heretic, that the renegade brother of Khusrau Khán, and Qúfí Khán, the ignorant ones, were hastening to meet him from Sarsutí, he gathered round him his friends, and his generals, and his Captains, and with his host departed from Deobálpúr; and passing by the town of Dalilí, and crossing over the river, he came and encamped before the enemy; and, on the second day, the armies drew up over against each other: and God protected the righteous, and there was thrown over the standard of Ghází Malik the shadow of the favour of God; so that at the first shock, the ranks of those rebellious ones were broken and overthrown, and the insignia of royalty, with the battle-axe of the renegade brother of Khusrau Khán, and the elephants, and the horses, and the treasure, fell into the hands of Ghází Malik. And of the leaders and captains of the rebel army, some were slain and wounded, and many were taken captive. But the two young men



who had set up themselves as g<sup>e</sup>nerals and as leaders, and had given battle to men of power and to tried captains, and had caused the death of many, leaving behind them their treasure, and forgetting their honour, fled in great haste, so that the dust of their feet was not visible to the pursuer, and hastening to travel through the night, arrived before Khusrau Khān, covered with shame and disgrace. And because of their defeat and of the victory of Ghāzī Malik, Khusrau Khān and his followers were discomfited, and the Parwāris lost heart, and the faces of all those rebellious ones grew pale, and their lips dry; for the Parwāris and Hindūs, who were the allies of Khusrau Khān, saw that they could not prevail against Ghāzī Malik.

But Ghāzī Malik remained for seven days after his victory upon the field of battle, and collected much spoil, and gathered together his host, and advanced in great power and with a well appointed army to take vengeance upon the rebel, and destroy the infidel in Delhi. Then was Khusrau Khān much troubled in mind, and called to him his luckless nobles, and the Hindūs and Parwāris, his allies, and came out of the city and encamped upon the 'Alāi Hauz, so that before him there were groves of trees and gardens, and behind him the castle of Delhi; and he alighted by Lahrāwat, and from fear of Ghāzī Malik, he entrenched himself on all four sides. Also he brought with him all the treasure from Kilok'hari, and from Delhi. And because he saw that the hour of his discomfiture had come, and that he had lost his stake, he dispersed all his treasure, and destroyed all the records of accounts: and because he knew that his kingdom and his glory, his power and his life, were passing away from him in shame and in disgrace, he left nothing behind in his treasury, but scattered everything. Some of his treasure he gave as two and one-half year's pay, and some as a free gift, to his soldiers; and being purposed that not a coin should fall into the hands of the leader of the faithful, he left nothing in his treasure chest. Perplexed and without counsel, he rode out daily before his army, and called to him his chieftains and his leaders, and addressed them with flattery and caresses, and took no thought of his followers. But it was known to all the soldiers, that because of the advance of Ghāzī

Malik, the defeat and the destruction of Khusrau Khán and of his followers was at hand, and already they seemed to see the heads of those rebellious ones impaled upon lances. But the evil traitor Khusrau Khán was as a drowning man, and all his struggles were without purpose; the soldiers also said among themselves that to fight against Gházi Malik, is to fight against the army of Islám. So pouring curses upon the miserable traitors, they took with them the treasure which had been given them, and dispersed every man to his home, inasmuch as all men know that injustice cannot prevail against justice, or the crooked be measured with the straight; nor can the rebellious prevail against the loyal, nor the unbeliever against the believer; so that in no wise could Khusrau Khán, a rebel, and without counsel, prevail against the faithful and victorious Gházi Malik. Now Khusrau Khán and his party had distributed the treasure about a month before the scattering of their soldiers, and had clung like drowning men to broken branches, and had abandoned themselves to all manner of iniquity. For they thought they might be saved by much treasure, and that as the scattering of money had availed 'Aláuddín in the year that he ascended the throne, so now also it might preserve them. Nevertheless Gházi Malik advanced stage by stage with his host, and with such as had remained faithful to him, and arrived over against the city, and encamped within the walls of Indpat. Also it happened that on the evening before the day of battle, 'Aíhul Mulk Multání turned aside from Khusrau Khán, and departed to Ujjain and Dhár, and because of his departure, the heart of Khusrau Khán and of his followers failed them on the day of battle.

GHÁZI MALIK GIVES BATTLE TO KHUSRAU KHAN AND DEFEATS HIM,  
AND PUBLICLY ASCENDS THE THRONE.

So it came to pass that on Friday, which is a day of glory, and of honor, and of victory to the Musalmáns, and of all manner of evil to the Hindú and the unbeliever, Gházi Malik and his host arose and left Indpat, and sought out Khusrau Khán to fight him. Khusrau Khán also, with his Parwáris and Hindús, and as many Musalmáns as had remained to him, departed from his encampment, and sent his elephants in advance of him.

Then the two armies drew up on the plain of Lahráwat, and made ready the battle; and when the vanguards met, the vanguard of Ghází Malik prevailed against the enemy, and Malik Talbaghah Nágori, who was among the most faithful of the followers of Khusrau Khán, and for the sake of Khusrau Khán had drawn his sword against the army of Islám, was defeated, he and others of the Parwáris: and his head was brought and laid before Ghází Malik. Then the son of Qurrah Qímár, who also was called Sháistah Khán and was General of the Forces, seeing that the battle was against him, withdrew with his troops from the army of Khusrau Khán, and went in the direction of the Desert. And coming in his way to Indpat, he fell upon the baggage of the army of Ghází Malik, and, having plundered it, continued his flight. But the two armies fought until the hour of afternoon prayer. Then it happened that after the hour of afternoon prayer, which on Friday is an hour of great holiness and very sacred, Ghází Malik gathered round him his followers and companions and chiefs, men of might and valour, and fell upon the centre of the army of Khusrau Khán. But Khusrau Khán, being weak as is a woman, could not bear up against the attack of mighty men of war, and straightway fled: and his army was scattered, and his soldiers discomfited. And he, leaving behind him his men at arms and his allies, the Parwáris, fled alone in the direction of Indpat, and there was no man to accompany him. Then the royal insignia were brought to Ghází Malik, who returned in triumph to his camp, and darkness fell; and a watch of the night had passed before that he arrived at his encampment at Indpat.

Now when Khusrau Khán arrived at Indpat, none of the Parwáris or his other followers remained to him. Therefore, returning from Indpat, he fled to the garden in which Malik Shádí 'Alái, who also had been formerly his benefactor, lies buried; and there he concealed himself that night. And after that Khusrau Khán had fled and his army had been routed, the Hindús and the Parwáris dispersed and disbanded themselves, every man to his own: and they were slain by the enemy in the country, the bazars, the streets, and in the quarters of the city, and their horses and arms were taken from them. Others also fled from the city by twos and by fours in the direction of Gujrát, and were slain on the road.

that leads to that country, and their arms and horses were taken away. Also on the second day they seized Khusrau Khán in the garden, and bringing him, thence they slew him. It came to pass, too, that during the night which Ghází Malik spent at Indpat, many of the chiefs and nobles and officers of the city came and did him obeisance, and they brought to him the keys of the castle and of the gates.

And on the second day after his victory Ghází Malik departed from Indpat, he and his nobles, his chieftains and his great men, and alighted with a great following at the Castle, and in the presence of all the principal men of the kingdom took his seat in the Palace of the Thousand Pillars. Then, when he had sat down, all the nobles of the court began to lament the fate of Sultán Qutbuddín, and of the other sons of Sultán 'Aláuddín, who had been their former masters; and bewailed with much lamentation the calamity that had befallen them; offering also thanks to God for the vengeance taken upon the Parwáris and Hindús, and because life was restored to Islám and to all Musalmáns, and because of the slaughter of the infidel. And after they had made an end, Ghází Malik spoke with a loud voice before them all, and said: "I also am one of those who am indebted to the favour of Sultán 'Aláuddín and Sultán Qutbuddín; and because that loyalty is in me, I have stood up, and have drawn my sword upon the enemies and murderers of my benefactors; and as far as was within me, have taken vengeance upon them. And now for this are ye all, followers of Malik 'Aláuddín and Qutbuddín, here assembled; that, if one of the family of our masters remain, ye should bring him forward at this time; and I will place him upon the throne; and will gird up my loins before the son of my master, and will do him homage. But if the enemy have utterly destroyed the family of 'Aláuddín and Qutbuddín, then are ye, the chiefs of either House, here at this time now gathered together. Choose ye whom ye will, and whomsoever ye think fit for the royal dignity, him place upon the throne; and I also will do obeisance. For inasmuch as I drew the sword, I drew it not for myself, but that I might exact vengeance for the blood of my masters. I have not come with all this my power to take for

myself the sovereignty; but what I have done, I have done in vengeance. Whom therefore ye shall elect to this throne, him also do I elect." Then all the assembled nobles answered with one voice, saying;—"Of the sons of Sultān 'Alāuddīn the rebels have not left one to place upon the throne. And now also at this time, because of the murder of Sultān Qutbuddīn and the government of Khusrāu Khān and of the Parwāris, there is rebellion throughout the Empire; and evil thinking men have raised their heads, and there is no authority. And to thee, Ō Ghāzī Malik! do we owe much thanks; for not many years have passed since thou didst stand as a wall against the irruption of the Mughuls, and through thee they were unable to advance into Hindūstān. Now also, hast thou bestirred thyself, and this loyal deed that thou hast done will be written in the chronicles of history, in that thou hast released us, who are Musalmāns, from the tyranny of Hindūs and Parwāris, and hast slain them, and taken vengeance for the blood of our masters. In all this hast thou done well for the people of this land. God hath chosen thee only for this work from among all the followers of 'Alāuddīn, and hath conferred this honour upon thee. Now therefore we all, and not only we, but all the 'faithful of this land, acknowledge the benefit thou hast conferred upon us. Nor do any of us who are here assembled know of any other but thee to place upon the throne of this kingdom, nor any such other in knowledge, and wisdom, and desert, and honour." Then all present signified their assent to these words; and the principal men gathered themselves together, and, taking the hand of Ghāzī Malik, placed him upon the throne. And because Ghāzī Malik had heard the cry of Islām and of the Musalmāns, they gave to him for all time the title of Ghiāsuddīn, which being interpreted, is 'Defender of the Faith.' Then on that day, Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Tughluq Shāh in the presence of all the people ascended the throne of the kingdom; and all the officers, and ministers, and secretaries, each in his own place, came and stood before the throne of Ghiāsuddīn, and did obeisance. At that time there was an end to all dissension, and fresh life was breathed into Islām, and the hope of the infidel was extinguished: so that the minds of men were set at rest.

*Enumeration of the Ministers and Principal Servants of Sultán ulgházi Ghiásuddunyá wal-dín (Defender of the World and Faith) Tughluq Sháh Sultán.*

Çadr Jahán (Chief Justice) Qází Kamáluddín; Ulugh Khán, viz., Sultán Muhammad Sháh; Bahrám Khán Sháhzádah; Mahmúd Khán, Sháhzádah; Mubárák Khán, Sháhzádah; Ma'súd Khán Sháhzádah; Nuçrat Khán, Sháhzádah; Tatár Malik, the adopted son of the king; Malik Çadruddín Arsalán, Náib Bárbak (Deputy Grandusher); Fí'üz Malik, brother's son to the Sultán; Malik Shádi Dáwar, Náib Wazír (Deputy Prime Minister); Malik Burhánuddín 'Álam Malik, Minister of Police; Malik Baháuddín, General of the Forces ('Arzulmamálik); Malik 'Alí Haider, Náib Wakil Dar; Malik Naçiruddín Mahmúd Sháh (Chamberlain); Malik Balatá, (Treasurer); Malik 'Alí Igrí-ishak; Malik Shihábuddín, (Pursuivant) Ghorí; Malik Tájuddín Ja'far; Malik Qiwámuddín (Governor of Daulatábád); Qutlugh Khán; Malik Yúsuf, Náib (Deputy Governor) of Debálpúr; Malik Sháhin Akhurbak (Master of the Horse); Ahmad Ayáz, Shihnah 'Amárat (Minister of Public Works); Naçirulmulk Khwájah Háji; Malik Ihsán Dabir (Secretary); Malik Shihábuddín Sultání; Tájulmulk; Malik Fakhruddín; Dolshah Bosahárá; Malik Qirbak; Malik Kashmír Shihnah Bárgáh (Manager of the King's Court); Malik Muhammad Zágh; Malik Sa'duddín Mantíqí; Malik Husámuiddín Hasan Mustanfí, (Examiner of Accounts); Malik 'Ainulmulk; Malik Káfúr Lang, Malik Sirájuddín Qasúrí; Malik Kháç Shihnah Píl (keeper of the elephants); Malik Husámuiddín Bedár; Malik Nizámuddín, son of 'Álam Malik; Malik 'Alí, brother to Malik Háji; Malik Baçruddín; Malik Tájuddín Turk, Deputy Governor of Gujrát; Malik Saifuddín; Malik Hájí.

In the name of God, the Merciful!

Thanks be to God the Creator! May His mercy rest on the Prophet and on the descendants of the Prophet, and may His mercy be extreme. This is the prayer of Zia i Barani, a suppliant for the mercy of the Omnipotent.

In the year 720, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh (may his name live for ever) ascended the throne in the king's castle; and the royal dignity received fresh glory from his accession. And by reason of his

power and glory and might, in the space of one week he arranged the affairs of the kingdom. And the disorder and evil which had arisen during the reign of Khusrau Khán and of his followers was made straight; and he brought all things within his grasp; so that men said to one another, "Behold! Sultán 'Aláuddín has come to life again!" Within forty days Sultán Ghiásuddín secured for himself the confidence of all people, and the rebelliousness and disorder which had arisen on every side were changed to obedience and submission. Also, because he was a just man, the hearts of good men rejoiced at his rule, and the foolish thoughts of the evil ones were scattered, so that every man went to his business and his work in confidence and rejoicing, because the hand of the king was powerful and his rule firm. Neither was there any more violence or oppression. But because of the government of Ghiásuddín there was given to the kingdom great glory. And those matters which, in the hands of other men, would not have been accomplished for many years, were settled by Ghiásuddín in the course of a few days. All that he did for the succour of Islám and the destruction of those evil and rebellious ones has been written in these chronicles. Nor in the royal annals is there recorded any promptness like the promptness with which Sultán Ghiásuddín avenged his masters. Furthermore from the day on which he ascended the throne, he ordered that search should be made for any who might survive among the families of 'Aláuddín and Qutbuddín, and he caused the wives of his benefactors to be treated with respect, and the daughters of Sultán 'Aláuddín he caused to be married to husbands of their own rank. But those men who, on the third day after the murder of Qutbuddín, had, without respect to the law, read the marriage service of his widow with Khusrau Khán, he punished with extreme severity. Also to the other nobles and chiefs and officers of 'Aláuddín he gave lands and employment and presents; and treated them as his own companions. Neither would he allow them for slight causes to be called to give account. Also would he not follow the custom which is admitted among kings, of rooting out from the land the adherents and supporters of those who were in authority before them. From the day on which he ascended the throne, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh was careful to base his government upon order and

method, looking only to the increase of his people, and the prosperity of his subjects, and to do justice and deal equitably, holding in honour men of learning, and of experience, and such as had done good service. Khwájah Khaṭír and Junaidí, chief of the Wazírs, and Khwájah Muhazzib Buzurg, who had formerly been of the councillors, but had some time ceased to be held in honour before the king, he again received into honour, giving to them robes, with salaries and presents, and appointing them to a higher rank in his presence. Of these men he enquired regarding such of the laws and ordinances of the kingdom as had proved to the people a cause of welfare, and whatever he saw good in the law, and such as might advance the prosperity of his subjects and the increase and happiness of his people, that he adopted. Also was he careful of himself to do nothing which should give offence, and ceased not to labour to restore the families which were fallen into decay, and to give life to such as had been well nigh uprooted. And because Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh was faithful and not forgetful of service which had been rendered him, he rewarded according to their merits all such as had served him in the days when he was a Malik, or who at any other time had shewn themselves to be men of trust and truth. In his time the just claim of no man was forgotten, nor his desire unfulfilled. In all things likewise he strove to observe moderation, which is the root of success and prosperity in the conduct of the affairs of a kingdom. Of himself only he took no heed, and did nothing merely with a view to the advancement of his own interest. Also was he careful to observe equity and moderation in the matter of his grants and his gifts, and the taxes which he imposed; not loading one man with thousands, and giving to another of the same rank, or of equal merit, nothing whatsoever; but being careful so far as it was possible to allow no man of worth to be neglected, or any unworthy man to be rewarded. Furthermore with him was there no caprice, nor were his actions ever such as to make the minds of men fearful and apprehensive, for in all things he observed order and just rule. Upon Sultán Muhammad, in whom all men saw the marks of wisdom and of uprightness, he conferred the title of Ulugh Khán, to whom also he gave the royal Insignia, and named him his successor. Of



the other princes, to the one he gave the title of Bahrām Khán, another he called Zafar Khán, a third Mahmúd Khán, and the fourth was called Nugrat Khán. Upon Bahrām Aibah he conferred the dignity of brotherhood, giving to him the title of Kushlí Khán, and the government of Multán, and the district of Sind. His brother's son, Malik Asududdín, he caused to be made Náib Bárbak (Deputy Grand Usher) and Malik Baháuddín, his sister's son, he raised to the dignity of General of the Forces, and conferred upon him the province of Samáná. His son-in-law, Malik Shádi, was appointed to be president of the Council of Ministers. To Tatár Khán who was his adopted son, he gave the name of Tatár Malik, and made him Governor of the parts of Zafarábád. Malik Burhánuddín, father of Qutlugh Khán, received the title of 'Alaḥ Malik, and was made Kotwál of Delhi. Malik 'Alí Haider was made Náib Wakíl, and Qutlugh Khán, Náib of the Wazírs of Doogír. Qázi Kamáluddín was made principal judge: and the judgeship of the city of Delhi was given to Qázi Samáuddín.

To Malik Tájuddín Ja'far was entrusted the governorship of Guj-rát. Other Maliks also he appointed to be his helpers and companions in affairs of state. And to others also he gave office and lands, and by means of these men, the government of his kingdom was administered with exceeding honour, and all men rejoiced because of them, so that their greatness and their power was written upon all hearts, and because of them the order and the power of his kingdom were established. Also Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh, being a prince of experience in the affairs of empire, during the four years that he reigned, was careful never to exalt any man at once to such honour and power as to cause him to be presumptuous, or to stumble from excess of pride. Nor also, because of neglect or bad service, was any man to be punished so as to cause others to be disheartened; nor did he ever speak or act in regard to such as had done good service, in a way that should shake the confidence of men. So that the couplet of Amír Khusráu may be quoted of the government of Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh, and in praise of his justice and his moderation—

“He did nothing but with excellent knowledge and wisdom.

One might say that his turban covered the skull-caps of a hundred sages."

All that the precepts of former kings and counsellors have laid down regarding the protection of friends and allies, that also did Sultán Tughluq Sháh faithfully observe. Also by the favour of God was there implanted in his nature a desire for order, and a wish that his subjects should increase and multiply, and that the number of towns should wax great, and that many should gather together therein, and that intercourse should be promoted amongst men. And because of his justice and uprightness, he decreed that taxes should be levied with moderation from the cities of his kingdom, and would have no extraordinary taxes, nor would he listen to the words of informers, or the prompting of publicans and such like; but drove from the court of Counsellors all manner of informers and tax-gatherers and publicans. Furthermore, he gave orders to his Counsellors that on no account should they levy a tax of more than one-tenth or one-eleventh on the districts and the provinces, whether from their own inquiry or on the reports of informers. Rather should they strive that the people should multiply, and should increase the taxes little by little: lest from a sudden increase there should be caused distress to the people, and an opening should be given to oppression. Sultán Tughluq Sháh many times gave orders that the revenue from the provinces should be so levied as not to cause decrease to cultivation: but that the past should remain as before and that increase should be gradual, lest by rapacity the former receipts should be lessened, and nothing left for the future. For the ruin of a country is caused by the oppression and exaction of its rulers, and from farmers of revenue and from evil governors there arises all manner of evil. Also Sultán Tughluq Sháh gave orders to all collectors of the revenue, and to all governors of provinces, that in the matter of the revenue, there should be left so much to the Hindús, that neither on the one hand should they wax presumptuous from their wealth, nor on the other, desert their lands and their business in despair. And this is the rule which the wisest and the most experienced ministers observe: and surely there is no better rule than this in the matter of taxation of Hindús. Yet

again did Sultān Ghiāsauddīn, Tughluq Shāh, being a wise and prudent king, order that the collectors of the revenue and the governors should make enquiry, and should forbid the head men to take more from the people than the revenue demanded by the king; for if their own lands and pastures are not brought under the tax, the produce of their lands should suffice for their support, and they also abstain from extortion. For of a truth there is placed upon the neck of the head men a burden, so that if they also are compelled to pay the tax which is paid by others, there is left to them no recompense. Those whom he had raised to honour and whom he had entrusted with provinces and territories, he would in no wise allow to be brought before his ministers, like tax-gatherers. Nor would he allow payment to be taken from them with indignity and harshness, as is the manner with tax-gatherers; but commanded them, if they did not wish that they should be brought before the Council, and be harshly entreated in the matter of payment, to the disgrace of the kingdom and the discredit of the nobles, that they should refrain from covetousness and extortion within their own provinces, taking only what is reasonable, and of that also apportioning a certain amount as salaries to their servants, being careful never to keep back a single coin of the just pay of their soldiers and servants. And if they should give of their own revenues to their soldiers and servants, well and good; but to keep back that which is their due, is to bring the name of the nobles of the empire to disgrace and to shame. For the governor who consumes the pay of his servants consumes dirt. But if it were needful, the maliks and the princes should take for themselves from the revenue of their provinces, a twentieth or twenty-second, or a tenth, or a fifteenth, taking this as the dues of their government: for in this they should not be discouraged, nor is it for the Council of the Empire to demand from them the repayment of such sums. So also if the servants of the governors of the provinces should take a fifth thousand, or tenth thousand besides their pay, for such small sums they should not be treated with disgrace, or payment be re-demanded from them with beating, torture, or imprisonment. But those who are deceitful and falsify their accounts, and fraudulently purloin the re-

venues of the kingdom should be beaten and imprisoned, and treated with disgrace and shame, and that which they have earned, should be taken from them, together with that which they have withheld. In all this, the wisdom of that just and experienced king is seen by men of wisdom; and from the regulations which he made upon all these matters, there resulted throughout his provinces a 'great' increase in the number of his people; and the governors and rulers also, who were the supports and the props of his empire, received a revenue beside their salaries; and year by year their honour and power increased, and their servants also were satisfied with plenty, nor were any of the governors or nobles or officers dragged with indignity before the Council; and the uprightness of the governors that were under him increased day by day.

Also Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh had entrusted his Council of Ministers to men of experience and of good name, nor was there any oppression or violence or extortion on the part of the Council towards those who were employed in the provinces. In one matter only did the Council of Ministers for the space of one or two years exercise severity, namely, in the recovery of the treasure which the rebellious Khusrau Khán at the time of his overthrow had scattered, and that which the army and the people had plundered in the troublous times. Of a truth, in the matter of the recovery of that treasure which had been plundered, and of which the treasury of 'Aláuddín had been emptied, and nothing left in the treasure house, the Council of the Ministers of Tughluq Sháh were not slow to exercise severity. Now there were three kinds of men from whom recovery was demanded, and the first were they who were not wholly without the fear of God. These men therefore, who were few in number, came and restored to the treasury the money which they had received from Khusrau Khán. But the second class of men, who loved money, deferred to make restitution, and hoped that by bribes and flattery they would escape. But Sultán Tughluq Sháh would not listen to their excuses, but demanded payment with severity, and would in no wise let them go. The third class of those who had received the treasure, were covetous and envious men, and plunderers, being without honesty, and thieves, whose life was full of evil practises: and these were

many, and withstood to the utmost the demand that was made on them, and endurel hardness and violence; and when they were pressed to pay, they reviled, and went about making complaint before all men, and speaking evil even of such a king, who was the Defender of the Faith, and the guardian of Musalmáns, and they ceased not to pour imprecations upon him. Then the king ordered that those men, because they would not pay, should be cast into prison, and beaten and tortured till such time as they made restitution, nor would he listen to their false excuses. Thus, because for the space of a year he strove greatly to recover the sums which had been plundered and cast away, it came to pass that the treasure of 'Aláuddín was recovered to the full.

To Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh was there given by God much wisdom and prudence in the matter of the collection of revenue and the bestowal of presents, so that all that he did in this matter of taxing he did well, and all that he did in the matter of gifts, he did with justice and with generosity. When it was unlawful or unwise to tax, he taxed not; and when to give was waste and prodigality, he gave not; so that there are not many kings who in those matters have shewn such moderation. Every week also Sultán Tughluq Sháh opened the great door of the king's court, and distributed alms to all such as were gathered thero, according to the need of each: and in the distribution of gifts he observed the rule of moderation, never giving to excess, nor with exceeding parsimony. Also was he careful to eschew the example of those rulers, who without just cause, give to one man thousands, and leave others in the torments of envy. Because of the presents that he made, there were gathered to him friends and well-wishers: and men were made loyal to him. And his generosity was not a cruse of envy, nor did it make men his enemies. In that he was a man of forethought, he was cautious in rewarding the officers of his court according to their deserts, and their rank, and the length of their service, so that each should receive his due, and no man be disappointed or envious, or be discontented with the king: and those who had not received, be jealous of those who had received, and become contentious and disaffected. He strove rather to give so that he to whom he gave should be the

more content, and among those to whom was given, there should arise no striving and discontent. Being therefore gifted with foresight and with prudence, he was careful that each of the attendants of his court should receive his due reward, and that none should be left in want. Also Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh, in the distribution of alms, observed a custom which had hitherto been unknown in Delhi. For at the receipt of the news of any victory, or any other glad tidings, or the birth of any son, or the ceremony of the purifying of any of the king's sons, he was wont to assemble the chief men and the nobles, the wise men, and the readers of the law, the scholar and the teacher, the instructor and the pupil, to the door of his palace: and in the royal presence he gave to each according as his position entitled him. Besides this also, he sent presents to religious houses, to holy men and recluses and to devotees, according to their need, and strove that in the city all men of merit and of piety should have a share in his favour. He was very swift to relieve those who were immediately about him and attached to his presence or his person: and none of these men were ever in want, nor did he allow them to become indebted, so that all rejoiced with the king, and were glad when he was glad. Also if he gave little, he gave of a truth to many, and often; so that if a man should count up the measure of the gifts which Sultán Tughluq Sháh gave in one year, the sum would be exceeding large. His kindness also caused him to strive for the welfare and the happiness of all his people, and he was grieved when any were in want; for it was his desire that the people, and the army, and all classes should live in comfort and in prosperity. Hence was it that he endeavoured that all his subjects, whether Hindú or Musalmán, should be busy with the labour of the field, or other kind of labour, and should thrive in it, and should cease from asking charity, and be relieved from indigence. Also he desired that there should be no more begging from door to door, but that the beggars also should find occupation, and should cease to importune, and to ask for alms, because of their nakedness and want. He desired rather that every man of every class, throughout his kingdom, should have his proper calling, and should be at ease, and that there should be no more

evil or crime or other perplexity. Every day, and every week, and every month, he summoned to him the families of those who were his intimates and his friends, and enquired into their circumstances, and sought to know whether each was in comfort and abundance; for he would not that any of his followers should, from any cause, be brought to sorrow, or rendered low by any kind of trouble.

For of a surety in the king was there no desire for oppression, misrule, or any other evil thing. Nevertheless, because men are full of greed and of covetousness, and there are many who are rich without merit and desert, all such hated the king, because that he was a man who discerned the right and distinguished merit, and would have every one rewarded accordingly. Such men spoke evil of the king, as they had spoken evil of Sultān Jalāluddīn Khiljī, who was of a truth a king of the faithful and wise. For this is the way of covetous and greedy men, and they cannot abide the king who is just and discerning, and who will not lavish upon the unworthy wealth and treasure. These are the men who wish for a prodigal king, and a shedder of blood, and one who casts away treasure, taking from many unjustly, and unjustly giving to many; overthrowing the houses which stand, and building up the houses of such as are without merit. These are the kings who exalt men of little worth, and the hard-hearted ones, and the wicked: setting them up in high places, and slaying the deserving ones and the upright and faithful, and utterly uprooting them and bringing them to ruin. One they drown in riches, and another they make a scorn and a by-word. But a king such as was Sultān Ghiásuddīn, worldly men, and men of ill-repute, and such as seek only their own wishes, cannot abide, and will speak no good of him: wishing rather for a king who should exalt the unworthy, the idolator, the law-breaker, and such as are wicked and live openly in sin; a king taking no heed of merit, but setting all his thoughts upon carnal pleasure; and persecuting whatsoever is lawful, or becoming, or seemly.

As to his army, which is the support of a kingdom, Sultān Ghiásuddīn Tughluq Sháh was exceeding thoughtful, caring for them as a father for his children, and himself enquiring into all expenditure, so that not a single coin was misappropriated

by the officers, or anything taken from them by the office of the General of the Forces. Also he regarded their families. And when he ascended the throne of the empire, he assigned to Siráj ul mulk Khwájah Hájí the office of Lieutenant-General of the Forces, and the whole charge of the office of the General of the Forces. And with regard to the recruiting and approval of soldiers, which is the chief cause of efficiency in an army, and the choice and approval of weapons and of horses, he followed the rules of 'Aláuddín. Such as neglected their duty or were guilty of cowardice, and deserted from the ranks of the army, he punished with extreme severity. The sums which the army had received from Khusrau Khán, he recovered from their salary up to the extent of one year's pay, but larger sums he recovered by degrees over a period of years, so that the soldiers should not be put to straits. The sums which had been plundered, or which had remained in the treasury and had not been distributed, he also recovered. Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh, during the four or five years in which he sat on the throne, ordered that the pay of his troops should be distributed in his presence, and that great care and attention should be paid in the matter of accounts, so that nothing should be kept back from their pay. Thus was it that his army was exceeding well-appointed and very powerful.

The salaries and allowances also of the nobles he so apportioned according to their rank, that the former nobles were increased in comfort, and to such as had been lately ennobled was there given dignity and power and prosperity. The villages, lands, pensions, and rewards given by 'Aláuddín, Sultán Tughluq Sháh, without enquiry and without scrutiny, confirmed, and approved with one stroke of his pen. But he cancelled all the orders and the grants of the rebel Khusrau Khán, which were made during the period of four months that he reigned, and hesitated not to resume the gifts which he had given. Also he was careful to enquire into all grants which had been given by 'Aláuddín and Qutbuddín from carelessness and ignorance, or through the intrigues of their followers and courtiers. All that had been given without cause, or because of the influence of courtiers, he resumed, and all which had been justly given, he confirmed. Furthermore, there has never reigned in Delhi a king more moderate in the



collection of his revenues, than was Sultān Tughluq Sháh, who would remit from lacs to thousands, and from thousands to hundreds; so that if it were told him by his councillors in his presence, that such a one is in bonds, because of arrears, which are due to the treasury, and offers as security for the lacs which are due from him ten thousand or five thousand tankahs, even with this much would he be satisfied, and would order the debtor to be released, and bid him make arrangements for payment of the balance, holding it wrong that any man should remain long in bonds for arrears of revenue. In no matter did he approve of vexatious enquiry, or of exaction; for he wished that the affairs of his kingdom should be administered according to the laws. Such things also as give rise to irritation among the people, both he and his Councillors were careful to avoid, desiring that the minds of all classes of his people should be at rest: for he wished not that men should be perplexed because of him. Sultān Tughluq Sháh eschewed all measures which should disturb rule or order, and all acts without purpose, such as bear fruit only in sorrow and vexation to the people. Nevertheless man is born ungrateful, and it has been said by God in the Qorán that "all men are thankless."

So it happened that the covetous and the envious, the wicked and the faithless, spoke evilly even of such an upright and just king; and those who without cause had obtained rewards, and monies, from Qutbuddín, in a time of forgetfulness and folly, and from Khusrau Khán at the time of his despair, spoke harm of Sultān Tughluq Sháh, and made complaint of that just and upright one, and looked for the overthrow of his empire, making eyes one at another, and speaking folly; and they said also of him, who was generous above all men, that he was covetous. Now I, Zīā i Baraní, who also wrote the annals of Fīrūz Sháh, have heard from the tongues of many men of experience, whose eyes, looking for the judgment to come, were anointed with the ointment of justice, that they, regarding only the welfare of the Faith, and the well being of Musalmáns, declared that no such king as Sultān Tughluq Sháh had ever sat upon the throne of Delhi, nor was it probable that such another would ever be seated upon that throne. For all the wisdom and knowledge and merit and justice, that is needed in a

king, and all other things which have been written to be necessary for a ruler, God had in no wise withheld from Sultán Tughluq Sháh. But he was clothed in courage and might, in understanding and wisdom, in justice and religion, being the Defender of the Faithful, and guardian of the obedient, and the scourge of the disobedient. Through his great experience also was the kingdom adorned. If men look to a king for order and the establishment of authority, which is the basis of all government, Sultán Tughluq Sháh, even within the year of his accession, established authority more firmly than other kings have done, though with much shedding of blood and causeless violence. Again, if we look to a king for protection of the Faith, Ghiásuddín, throughout his reign, was indeed the Defender of the Faithful. Also he closed the door to the incursions of the Mughul: nor from fear of his sword, did the Mughul dare to cross the border of his kingdom, or advance beyond the river, or in any way molest a single Musalmán. So great was the fear of his sword both on the unbeliever and on the rebel, that neither did the Mughul dare to cross his border, nor were the rebellious within his territories emboldened to lift up their heads. • Further, if we look to a king for justice and wisdom in his ordinances, and the righteousness of his rule, because of the justice and the uprightness of Tughluq Sháh, the wolf durst not seize upon the lamb, and the lion and the deer drank at one stream. Through his ordinances and his regulations, the dignity and the honour of his qázis and judges, and of such as declared law and administered justice, was greatly increased. If we look to a king for the care of his army, who are the protection of the Faith and the defenders of Islám, through the wisdom of Tughluq Sháh, so soon as he ascended the throne, many thousands of horsemen were raised, and disciplined, and equipped, and over them were placed captains of experience, and such as were skilful in war. In his time the army was always paid in full, nor was a single coin kept back. If we look to a king for a care of the interests of the tillers of the soil, the name of Sultán Tughluq Sháh has become a proverb throughout Hindústán and Khurásán in this matter. For the desire of his heart was to dig canals and to plant fine groves, and

to cause forts to be erected for the safety of the cultivators, and such as labour in the field. Also did he strive to restore waste places, and to reclaim such lands as were exhausted and worn out. So that in this matter, he excelled all who had gone before him, and had he sat but for a few years upon the throne, and been spared from the stroke of death, he would beyond doubt have caused to be inhabited many thousands of deserted houses, so that the thorny desert should have become a fruitful grove, and the waste a flowering garden. Also would he have dug for miles upon miles and leagues upon leagues, canals like to the rivers Ganges and Jamna; creating running streams, and conferring benefit and comfort, and much prosperity upon the labourer and tiller of the soil; so that there would have been no end to the increase of corn, and the overflowing of abundance. Also will men speak to all time of the Castle of Tughluqābād, as a proof of his magnificence in building. Yet again, if we look to a king to ensure the safety of travellers, and to protect the high roads of the kingdom, and to punish such as rob upon the high road, so great was the fear of the sword of Tughluq Shāh in the hearts of all robbers and plunderers, that in his time, the robbers became the protectors of the public roads, and the plunderers and the violent, breaking their swords, converted them into ploughshares, and sold their bows: and the crooked became straight, and they betook themselves to the labour of the field, nor was the name of robbery heard; and the fear of the robber was wiped away from the minds of men. Within his kingdom the thief did not dare to take a grain from the store of any man; and not within his kingdom only, but in Ghazni also, from the fear of the sword of Tughluq Shāh, the violent ceased from violence, neither did they any more gather together to prey upon the track of the merchants and caravans. If again we look to a king for observance of the precepts of the Faith, and strict adherence to its ordinances, and for purity of spirit, which is the chief of all the ordinances of Islām, Sultān Ghiāsuddīn Tughluq Shāh excelled above godless kings, inasmuch as he was pure and upright, and gifted with integrity and probity. Also was he careful to observe all the hours of prayer, nor would he retire to his harem until he had repeated the prayer before sleep, nor did he ever

absent himself from public prayer on Fridays or on holy days, but was careful on the third night of the Ramazán to perform the twenty-two genuflections called 'Taráwih,' and it is known to God that throughout the month of Ramazán he observed, with exceeding observance the daily fast. Because of his purity and uprightness, he would not gather round him lads, and beardless boys, sons of the nobles, handsome slaves, or beautiful singing boys : accounting as his enemy such an one as was spoken of as bestial or uncleanly. Nor went he with harlots. During his reign, he would join in no drinking parties, but forbade the drinking of wine to all subjects of his kingdom, refraining himself also from dice. In such times as he took his pleasure, no man saw him drunk with wine, or overcome by any other temptation. But in all things, Sultán Tughluq Sháh so observed the Musalmán faith, that the words of the irreligious and the thoughts of the evil ones could find no fault in him. Also was that king an humble man, never vaunting himself without cause, or exalting himself unseemly. From his boyhood upwards, in his youth, and in his manhood, there was found in him no guile, or dishonesty, or deceit, or rebelliousness, or any such evil thing. God kept him also free from such faults and sins as raise the clamour of him that wishes evil : throughout his life was he honoured, and held in reverence, and esteemed. If, furthermore, in a king we look for gratitude and recompense of service and giving of reward, Sultán Tughluq Sháh was pre-eminent above all kings, and exalted for ever above all such as have held authority. For those who had served him in his army and in his government, or in any wise rendered him assistance, he rewarded so that to the soldier was awarded the portion of the governor, and to the governor the portion of princes. Those who had long been faithful to him he cherished as a tender father cherishes his son, and his companions of old time he fostered like as men foster their brother and their children, and looked upon their families as his family, and would allow no harm or loss to happen to them, or to their bondsmen or dependants. Because that he was faithful, and of the grateful, and one who remembered the services which had been done for him, Sultán Tughluq Sháh, laid aside in the presence of those of his own house the royal state and the circumstance of kings. Those of his household also like the

captains and the servants of his government, he advanced in honours and provided with all that they needed, and shewed them much kindness. And though he had become a king, nevertheless he ceased not to sit as of old with them. With his former servants and dependants, also, he laid aside the majesty of his kingship, but maintained the former intercourse. In courage also, and in cunning and strategy in matters pertaining to war, among all the chiefs and captains of Hindústán and Khurásán was there none like unto Sultán Tughluq Sháh; for if I were to tell of all his battles and his wars, I suppose that another book would not suffice. Would that he had reigned yet a few more years, that he might have carried the knowledge of Islám to the East and to the West, so that the kingdoms of the infidel and the parts of the heretic should have come under the rule of that king of Islám! For while he ruled, he surpassed the glory of Rustam, and had he been spared from death, he would have excelled the deeds of Alexander. All that Sultán 'Aláuddín did with so much shedding of blood, and crooked policy, and oppression, and great violence, in order that he might establish his rule throughout the cities of his empire, Sultán Tughluq Sháh in the space of four years accomplished without any contention or fraud, or hardness, or slaughter. Those therefore who consider the matter, being men of experience, say that the reign and the duration of the government of Sultán Tughluq Sháh was among the chiefest of the blessings of God, and these men praise God thankfully, and offer to Him honour; while the craving of the envious and the covetous, which would not be satisfied with the treasures of Qárún, were set at nought by the glory of the government of such a king: and their evil longings were disappointed, so that they spoke bitterly and ceased not to revile him, and expected anxiously that such a one, in whom the world found rest, should die.

THE FIRST APPOINTMENT OF SULTAN MUHAMMAD, AT THAT TIME  
CALLED ULUGH KHAN, TO CAPTURE ARANKUL.

Now it came to pass that in the year 722, Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh gave to Sultán Muhammad the emblems of royalty, and appointed to him a host, and bade him depart into the country of Arankul, and the parts of Taling. And with him there were sent

certain of the former nobles of 'Aláuddín, and of his own officers also appointed he many. Sultán Muhammad therefore, in the pomp of royalty, and with a great gathering, departed for Arankul, and arriving at Deogír, he took with him the chief men of that place, and such of its garrison as were needed by him, and arrived by stages in the parts of Taling. Then from fear of the power of Sultán Tughluq Sháh, and because of the terror of Sultán Muhammad, Rái Suddar Deo, with all his nobles and his captains, withdrew into his castle, and resolved that he would avoid battle. But Sultán Muhammad arrived at Arankul, and encamped round about the earthen fortress of that place, and halted there, and ordered that they should send certain of the leaders, and should spoil the country of Taling, and gather for the army of Islám much treasure and provision. So because of them, there was gathered much spoil, and the army began with carefulness to besiege the castle. Now many Hindús had gathered themselves together in the forts of earth and of stone, and coming from the east and from the west, had made much preparation, so that daily the host of Islám fought with the besieged, and the battle was sharp, and from within were thrown fireballs, and on either side were many slain. But the army of Islám prevailed against the Hindús, and brought them to a strait, and discomfited them, so that it nearly came to pass that the earthen fortress of Arankal was captured. Then Saddur Deo Rái of Arankal took council with his chiefs, and sent to Sultán Muhammad envoys, and made offer of submission; also he laid before him treasure, with elephants and jewels and much wealth: for he hoped that even as in the day of 'Aláuddín there had been given to the Viceroy treasure and great presents, so that he had received of the tribute, and returned whence he came, so also might it be with Sultán Muhammad, and that he too should return. But Sultán Muhammad would have none of them, but continued the rather to besiege the castle, hoping to make the Rái of Arankal his captive, and would in no wise listen to terms, and the heralds returned in discomfort.

Now it happened that for the space of a little more than a month, while the besieged were in this strait, and were think-

ing among themselves whether they should submit, there had arrived no couriers from the king. Although there were wont to come to Sultán Muhammad from his father two or three despatches in each week, not a single despatch had been received by him. Because of this, Sultán Muhammad and his councillors were troubled in their minds, and they said among themselves that some of the stations on the road had risen in rebellion, and because of them there was no communication, and the couriers had ceased to arrive. Then was it known in the camp that Sultán Muhammad was troubled in his mind, and there arose all manner of suspicion, and the tidings spread by degrees among all men. Then 'Abíd, the poet, and a Shaikhzádah of Damascus, who were men of evil repute and infamous, and among them that stood in the presence of Sultán Muhammad, began to pervert the minds of men, and spread false reports amongst the army, saying that Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq had died in the city of Delhi, and that there was rebellion within Delhi, and that a stranger had seized the throne, so that there was no more any communication. Because of their sayings, men began to fear: and these infamous ones, 'Abíd the poet, and the Shaikhzádah, the Damascene, being sons of evil and rebellious, faithless also and ungrateful, devised yet another mischief; and they went to Malik Tamar and to Malik Takín, and to Malik Mal Afghán and to Malik Káfúr, keeper of the seals, and spoke to them saying, "Sultán Muhammad regardeth you, who are of the chiefs of the nobles of 'Aláuddín and captains of his host, as men who are dangerous to him, and as fellow-plotters against him, and thinks to slay you, and upon one day will he seize you all, and will cause you to be put to death." Then, because those four captains knew that the speakers were of those who stood in the presence of Sultán Muhammad, and were about him, they believed their words, and gathered themselves together, and, with their host, left the army. And because of their departure all men were afraid, and there arose a great cry, so that in every rank there was contention and rebellion, and there was great distress, no man trusting his neighbour. But the Hindús within the walls heard that some misfortune had happened to the besiegers, and they gathered heart, and sallied out from within the walls, and plundered the

camp, and went their way. Sultán Muhammad also, with those who were of his immediate followers, fled to Deogír, and his army was disheartened, and began to disperse. But while Sultán Muhammad was yet on the way to Deogír, there met him messengers from the city bringing with them the royal mandates, and news of the safety of the king. Then the nobles of 'Aláuddín, who with one consent had forsaken Sultán Muhammad, were divided amongst themselves, and each man did what seemed right to him, and their footmen and their servants fled from them, and their horses and army fell into the hands of the Hindús. But Sultán Muhammad arrived in safety at Deogír, and there he gathered to him his army. Malik Tamar with certain of his horsemen fled, and went into the Hindú country and there died. Malik Takín who was also a noble of Audh, the Hindús slew, and sent his skin to Sultán Muhammad to Deogír; and Malik Mal 'Afghán and 'Abíd the poet and the other conspirators they bound, and sent them to Sultán Muhammad to Deogír, but he sent them alive to his father. Now it had come to pass that already the wives and children of those rebellious nobles had been seized; and Sultán Ghiásuddín gave a show in the plain of public entertainment, and there they hung up 'Abíd the poet, and Káfúr, keeper of the seals, and the other conspirators. Certain others also, with their women and children, they cast beneath the feet of elephants, and the day was passed in the execution of those men, so that those who saw it were filled with fear. And because of the punishment with which Sultán Tughluq Sháh had punished them, and in that he had cast many women and children to the elephants, the whole city was mightily afraid.

#### THE SECOND EXPEDITION OF SULTÁN MUHAMMAD AGAINST ARANKAL.

After the space of four months, Sultán Ghiásuddín gave to Sultán Muhammad a large army, and appointed him other soldiers, and sent him to Arankal, and again Sultán Muhammad arrived in the country of Taling, and took the fort of Badar: and the captain of the fort fell into his hands; and from thence he went to Arankal, and laid siege to the earthen fortress of that place. And after some



days, by arrows shot through tubes and by catapults, he forced an opening into the outer and inner fort, and he took prisoner Saddar Deo, with his princes, his nobles, and headmen, their women, their children, their elephants, and their horses, and he sent news of his victory to Delhi. And in Delhi and Tughluqābād they spread canopies and made rejoicing, and caused the drums to be beaten nine times. But Saddar Deo was sent with his elephants, and his treasure, and his followers, by the hand of Malik Bedār, called also Qadar Khān, and Khwājah Hájí, Lieutenant-General of the Forces, to the king, and to Arankal was given the name of Sultānpūr. Then Sultān Muhammad conquered the whole country of Taling, and divided it into provinces and governments, and appointed officers and governors, and from the whole country of Taling took he one year's revenue. From thence he marched towards Jáj Nagar, when he captured forty elephants, and returned with victory to Taling. But the elephants he sent to the king at Delhi.

DEPARTURE OF SULTAN GHÍASUDDÍN FOR LAK'HNAUTI, AND HIS CONQUEST THERE, AND IN SUNNARGAON AND SATGAON, AND THE SUBMISSION OF THE GOVERNORS OF LAK'HNAUTI.

Now in the time that Arankal was taken, and the elephants arrived from Jáj Nagar, certain troops of the Mughul came within the limits of the kingdom, and the armies of Islām encountered them, and defeated them with great slaughter, and took prisoners their two leaders, and sent them to the Court. In those days was it that Sultān Ghíásuddín made Tughluqābād his capital, and caused his nobles and his chieftains to reside there with their families, and to establish themselves there. At that time also there came certain of the chief men of Lak'hnauti, and stood in the presence of the king, and told him of the tyranny and exactions of the governors of Lak'hnauti, and informed him of their distress and of their sufferings, and of the complaints of all Musalmáns, because of the injustice of those governors. So Sultān Ghíásuddín resolved within himself that he would march to Lak'hnauti, and he sent messengers to Sultān Muhammad, and bade him come from Arankal, and appointed him Regent in his

absence, and entrusted to him the affairs of the government; and himself departed with an army to Lak'hnautí, and crossing deep rivers, and quicksands, and swamps, he hurried on his way to Lak'hnautí and ceased not to advance rapidly; and because the fear of Tughluq Sháh was great throughout Khurásán and Hindústán, and all the cities and countries of Hind and of Sindh, in that he had quickly subdued all the princes and governors of the East and of the West, when the shadow of Tughluq Sháh fell upon Tirluht, Sultán Náçiruddín, governor of Lak'hnautí, came with submission and obeisance to the Court, and humbly offered allegiance: so that before the sword of Tughluq Sháh was drawn, all the chiefs and the nobles of that country hastened to do him service, and to offer him their obedience. Then Tatár Khán, who was the adopted son of Sultán Tughluq Sháh, and was governor of Zafarábád, was sent with an army and brought all that country to submission; and Sultán Bahádúr Sháh, governor of Sunnargáon, who was rebellious, he brought with a halter round his neck, into the presence of the king; and all the elephants that were in those parts were gathered together into the king's elephant-stable, and there was collected to the army of Islám much treasure because of that expedition. Then Sultán Ghiásuddín Tughluq Sháh made Sultán Náçiruddín governor of Lak'hnautí, and entrusted to him the kingly power, because he had hastened to do obeisance, and sent him to his government. But of Sátgáon and Sunnargáon he took possession. And Bahádúr Sháh he sent with a halter round his neck to Delhi, and Sultán Tughluq Sháh returned in triumph and with victory toward Tughluqábád. In Delhi also the news of the victory in Bengal was read in all the pulpits, and canopies were erected, and the drums were beaten, and there was much rejoicing. But Sultán Tughluq Sháh, leaving behind him his army, hastened on by double marches, and arrived in the neighbourhood of his capital.

DEATH OF SULTAN GHÍASUDDIN TUGHLUQ SHAH AFTER HE HAD ARRIVED IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF TUGHLUQABAD, AND HAD ALIGHTED UNDER THE ROOF OF A PAVILION ; A KING BY WHOSE DEATH THE WORLD WAS DARKENED, AND THROWN INTO DISTRESS AND CONFUSION.

Now when Sultán Muhammad heard that Sultán Tughluq Sháh was hastening to his capital of Tughluqábád, and had already arrived in its neighbourhood, he ordered that they should erect a small building about eight miles from Tughluqábád, by Afghánpúr, so that the king might alight, and pass the night therein, and proceed in the morning with his royal retinue to Tughluqábád, where also coloured canopies were erected, and the drums beaten. So Sultán Ghíásuddín, at the hour of the second prayer, arrived at the pavilion which had been newly erected, and alighted there, and Sultán Muhammad, with the princes and the nobles, met his father, and kissed his feet. Then Sultán Tughluq Sháh called for food, and after that he had eaten it, and the princes and the chiefs came out for the cleansing of hands, there fell upon the earth the lightning of the calamity of heaven, and the roof of the pavilion, under which the king was sitting, fell suddenly upon him ; and he, with six or seven others, was buried under it, and he died ; and so great a conqueror and captain, whom the world could not contain, lies buried in twelve feet of earth—

“Who is able to see, Oh eye of blind fate !

“Two worlds in twelve feet of the grave ?”

And from the death of Sultán Tughluq Shah, the order of the world was changed into disorder—

“That kingdom of Egypt, which thou sawest, is no more,

“And that Nile of Mercy, which thou heardest of, was a mirage ;

“The Form of Safety and the Spirit of Security

“Are veiled from the gaze of spectators.

“Calamity covered the heavens with a garment :

“The covering of darkness was as a veil to the firmament.”

How wiser are they who have resigned this unstable world, and turned from it their faces, because of its inconstancy and its oppression ; and have satisfied themselves with the bread and the

salt of contentment! For the world and all its glory is but a spectacle. Yet even to the worldly is not this warning sufficient, that to the king who had conquered Hind, and arrived victorious, and crowned with honour, at his capital, was it not given to see the faces of his family, but he passed at one breath from a throne to the bosom of the earth, exchanging a palace for a grave.

A man shall ask—Where are gone those famous ones? Behold!

The womb of the Earth is for ever pregnant with them.

The Earth is drunken, because she hath tasted of wine:

In the cup of the skull of Hurmuz, hath she drunk the heart's blood of Naushirwán.\*

*The Ruins at Kopari, Balasore District.*—By JOHN BEAMES, B. C. S.,  
Magistrate of Balasore.

(With two plates.)

Two years ago I found at Kopari a small image with an inscription on the back, a copy of which I sent to the Society. The people worshipped the image as Lakshmi, but Babu Rajendralal having pronounced it to be Maya Devi, the mother of Buddha, they have now come to the conclusion that the “deo” has gone out of it, and made no objection to my removing it, which I have done on the occasion of my recent visit to the place.

On this visit I have been able to make a more minute inspection of the ruins and the surrounding country, and send you the following notes, with a few rough sketches and plans.

The place is interesting not only from its singular physical appearance, but as being the only place in northern Orissa where distinct traces of Buddhism are still observable. It is situated in lat.  $20^{\circ} 19'$ , long.  $86^{\circ} 30'$ ; 42 miles south-west of the town of Balasore and close to the point where the three native tributary States of Moharbhaj, Nilgiri, and Keonjhar meet. It is a level plain surrounded on three sides by low rocky hills. The soil is sterile and in many places consists of nothing but large slabs of laterite rock, as flat and regular as a London street pavement,

\* The text edition (p. 453) has two couplets more; but they convey no meaning.

having, however, the colour and general appearance of rusty iron boiler plates. This formation is not, of course, continuous; there occur large spaces where the laterite is covered with more or less depth of earth, and on such spots are rice fields, tanks and houses and large mango and pipal trees. The ruins stand on the north side of the village, the more important and better preserved portion is situated in the very middle of the flat laterite surface, but other parts are found in the softer soil among trees. The plan of them is given below.

Before proceeding to describe the details, it will be as well to make some introductory remarks. These ruins exhibit the traces of an ancient Buddhist temple, and *vihāra* or monastery, with a pleasure ground or grove intervening. The Buddhist temple appears to have been destroyed and its materials used to erect a Brahmanical temple dedicated to Shiva, whose emblems in a later style of art, some in fact comparatively modern, are found in abundance. Later than these supervened the present Vishnu worship, now the prevailing type of Hinduism in Orissa, so that a considerable amount of wilful, and some also accidental, displacement and destruction has taken place.

The Shiva and Vishnu buildings are rude in the extreme, and are composed of stones evidently taken from some earlier fabric, as the architectural design and sculptures are entirely disconnected, a stone with a bold moulding being placed upon a perfectly plain one and *vice versa*, and one edifice in particular being crowned, instead of a pinnacle or spire, by a capital exactly agreeing with those of the pillars still remaining *in situ* on the earlier building.

Of this earlier building I can give no plan. It stands about 200 yards to the east of the building marked A, and consists of a confused mass of laterite hewn stones of very great size, but no outlines can be traced without digging, for which I had no time. I would hazard the conjecture, however, that it was a square of about 38 feet in length on each side. In what seems to have been the centre, is a huge square mass of laterite like an altar, about four feet high, and at each corner a small niche in one of which was the image of Mayadevi above mentioned. One of the other niches has been removed to a distance of about half a mile, and set

up on the edge of a tank, probably for purposes of Brahmanical worship; the other two niches are overgrown with trees, an ancient tamarind in one, and a still more ancient pipal in the other have twisted their roots and stems in and out of the stones so as to render restoration impossible. This building I suppose to have been the original Buddhist temple, and the altar probably sustained an image of Buddha of gigantic size, the mutilated remains of which have been set up in the village temple and are now worshipped as Baladeva. From this ruin stretches a grove of trees on a long ridge, formed evidently artificially, by heaping earth on the laterite rock to a height of four or five feet. On the northern edge of the grove is an old square stone well hewn through the rock and lined with huge cut stones. In the middle of the grove is the building marked A, an oblong platform of hewn stone, with the capitals of some large pillars lying on and around it. Going still westwards over a space encumbered by half-buried debris, we come to B, the best preserved portion of the whole. I give a sketch of this building from the south.

It is a long narrow hall with a sort of propylæum on the eastern side, surrounded by pillars, most of which are still standing, though battered and worn by rain so much that their original design is almost untraceable. It can be seen, however, that they were octagonal, with a capital consisting of a double round beaded fillet as in the marginal illustration.

To the north of this is a small nearly square tank with steps leading down to it, the whole hewn with immense labour through the solid rock to a depth of 6 feet, and always full of water even in the driest seasons. To the west of the hall just mentioned is a scarcely distinguishable small building marked C, whereon are a few fallen pillars and capitals.

The inscription on the back of the image of Mayadevi would refer the building in which it was found to the tenth century A. D., unless, as is highly probable, the image was dedicated after the erection of the temple. The huge size of the stones, some four feet long by two or three deep, and the general rudeness of the architecture, would incline me to place the date of its construction much earlier. The grove leading to A, B, and C, with its artificial soil

and ancient well, was probably the garden; and the three buildings themselves, the cells of the vihára, or monastery, for the use of whose inhabitants the tank was apparently dug.

Building A now presents the appearance of a ruined Siva temple, at *a* is a large *linga* of chlorite, still worshipped; a smaller *linga* lies close to it. At *b* is a large well-carved statue of Durgá, and another of Nandi on the top of Durgá's slab. Both are comparatively new and in good preservation. At *c* comes in the newer Vishnu worship in the shape of a statue which, though defaced, is considered by natives to be Lakshmi, though some considered it to be Bhaváni. At *a* is a *rath*, which is still used on the Rath Jatra. These last objects are quite modern and connected with Baladeva's temple in the village, to whom, in the opinion of the present inhabitants, the whole of the ruins are sacred, in spite of the lingas and statue of Durgá.

At the foot of the hills close by are the remains of a large fort of mud, and on the hill side high up is a cave temple called that of Bharua Debi, a name probably corrupted from Bháirava, as that of an adjoining cave, Basudi, is probably from Bâsuki. I could not visit these temples on account of the dense jungle, but the sculptures and statues which have been brought from them, to adorn the village shrine at the foot of the hills, are a strange medley, comprising one or two Durgás, a Narsingha avatár, and several minor idols,

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*Notes on several Arabic and Persian Inscriptions.—By H. BLOCHMANN,  
M. A., Calcutta Madrasah.*

This paper contains notes on several Arabic and Persian inscriptions which in the course of the year were either sent to the Society by various members, or were obtained by myself. I trust the members will continue to forward rubbings or copies of inscriptions to the Society, and I would especially draw their attention to old Mosques and the Dargáhs of Muhammadan saints. Shrines are rarely without inscriptions; but although almost every town in Upper India and Bengal has, if I may say so, its patron saint, few of the inscriptions and the legends regarding them have hitherto been collected. Bengal and Bihár inscriptions are doubly welcome, as they help us to fill up gaps in Bengal history.

The inscriptions mentioned in the paper refer to

Bardwán,  
Gaur,  
Atak,  
The Márgalah Pass,  
Majherah, Muzuffarnagar, N. W. P. and  
Barolí,

and will, I hope, be of some interest for Indian readers.

**Bardwa'n.**

The following inscription is taken from the Dargáh, or tomb, of the Poet Bahrá'm Saqqá, or as he is called in Bardwán, on account of his saintly character, Pír Bahrá'm. The Dargáh is one of the historical sights of Bardwán.

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
يا الله يا فتاح يا الله يا فتاح يا الله لا اله الا الله محمد رسول  
الله حقا

زے درویش عالم گشت بهرام \* کہ در عرفان دلے او پسکہ دریا  
ز عالم رفت در راه سرانندیپ \* شد از ملک فنا بهرام دانا  
حساب سالہ فوت آن یگانہ \* زحق کردیم چون فتح تمنا



ندا آمد که تاریخ وفاتش \* بود درویش ما بهرام سقا  
۹۸۲

O God, O Opener, O God, Opener !

There is no God but Allah ; Muhammad is the Prophet of God, in truth.

Well done, Darwīsh Bahrām, who has travelled over the world, whose heart in knowledge is like the ocean.

He left the world on his way to Ceylon ; Bahrām Saqqā left the transitory realm.

We reflected on the year in which this great man died, and, in fulfilment of our wishes,

A voice came from heaven, announcing that the chronogram of his death lies in the words '*Burāḍ Darwīsh i mū Bahrām i Saqqā* 'our Darwīsh is Bahrām Saqqā.' A. H. 982, or 1574.

This inscription is on a black stone, measuring about 2½ ft. by 1½, and lies at the inner door of Bahrām's shrine. The shrine is in Bardwán itself, about a mile from the Railway station, and looks like a little fortress. There are many tombs in the neighbourhood. A few steps lead through a low portico into the *ṣahn*, or open courtyard, of the shrine. On the right of the portico there is another inscription, which is, however, so defaced, that it is impossible to read it. The tomb itself is in a low vault, and is quite plain. After entering the *ṣahn*, to the left, two tombs without inscriptions were pointed out to me as the resting-places of Sher Afkan and Quṭbuddín Khán. The former was Núr Jahán's first husband and Jágirdár of Bardwán ; he killed Quṭbuddín, the Governor of Bengal, who had received orders from Jahángír to make away with him and conduct Núr Jahán to the imperial harom.\* The meeting of Sher Afkan and Quṭbuddín took place, according to the tradition, at Sádhipúr, which lies east of the Railway station, on a field where a tomb now is. The field to this day is called *Ganj i Shahídín*, 'the place of the martyrs.' Whether the tombs in the courtyard are really those of Sher Afkan and Quṭbuddín, is doubtful, notwithstanding the tradition ; for Jahángír says in his 'Memoirs' that Quṭbuddín's body was taken to Fathpúr Sikrí and buried there.

It is also said that Akbar granted a daily allowance of Rs. 2 to

\* For full accounts of Sher Afkan, Núr Jahán, and Quṭbuddín, vide *Kín translation*, pp. 497, 509, 524.

the Mutawallís in charge of the tomb, and that the Government pays Rs. 40 *per mensem* for the same purpose.

Bahrám Saqqá is one of the best poets of Akbar's reign. Abul-fazl mentions him in the *Áin* (text, p. 250). He was of Turkish extraction, and belonged to the Biyát tribe, which is chiefly found in Erivan, and scattered over Azarbáiján, Tahrán, Nishápúr, and Fárs.\* He pretended to have seen the prophet Khizr (Elias), and wandered about as a water-carrier (*saqqá*), supplying the poor with water. Báráóni (III, 243) says—"He belongs to the followers of Shaikh Jámí Muhammad of Khabúshán (near Nishápúr), and was *majzúb*, i. e. attracted by God. He wandered about in the streets of Ágrah with several of his pupils, and distributed water gratis among the poor, composing at the same time verses 'as pure as water.' Once a descendant of his spiritual guide came to India, and he gave him all he possessed. He was fond of independence, and went to Ceylon, but died on the road. It is said that in that land of infidelity (Ceylon), there was a man to whom the Prophet appeared in a dream ordering him to shroud and bury Bahrám, which was done. He composed several *díwáns*; but when he was in religious ecstasy, he washed the ink off his papers, one after the other; but the collection of poems still extant is by no means small."

The author of the *Haft Iqlím* says that when Bahrám was lying dead on his *chárpaí*, a person appeared and said to Bahrám's companion that he had received orders from the Prophet to bury him.

According to the *Mir-át ul 'Álam*, it was his pupils that collected his poems, and saved the *Díwán* which still exists; else he would have destroyed his whole collection. He died in A. H. 1000, on his way to Ceylon.

I am doubtful as to the correct year in which Bahrám died; for in the above inscription the word *buwad*, according to the rules of *tárikhs*, does not belong to the chronogram itself, and this would give 970 A. H., or 1562-63, A. D., as the year of his death. But the Mutawallís of the Dargáh declare that he died in A. H. 982, or A. D. 1574.

\* Notes on Persia, by Lt. Col. Montoith, Madras Journal, Vol. IV, for 1836, p. 28.

Dr. Sprenger also mentions him in his *Catalogue of Oudh MSS.* (p. 559). He calls him 'Darwish Saqqá of Bukhárá, and says he died in A. H. 962, quoting in support a chronogram from the *Nafáis ul Maúsir* (motre, twice *ma'f'ulu fá'ilátna*), of which the last line is—

این گل چو زین چمن رفت    پوشید آن ز تاریخ  
گریبان بگفت سقا    این باغ ماند بی ماء

When this rose left the rosebed, it asked for a chronogram,  
And Saqqá replied weeping—"This garden is now left without water."

Dr. Sprenger finds the chronogram by subtracting *má* (*i. e.* 41) from *bágh* (1003), and thus gets A. H. 962. But this is against the rules of *tárikhs*, and we should, no doubt, read

آن باغ ماند بی ماء

and subtract *be má* (with the *hamzah*, as it means 'water' in allusion to Saqqá's employment), *i. e.* 54, from *án* (not *ín*) *bágh*, *i. e.*, 1054, which would give A. H. 1000, the date of the *Mir-át*. But whether this be correct or not, Sprenger's date of Bahrám's death (962) is impossible, as Bahrám Saqqá lived under Akbar, who only commenced to reign in 963.

Stewart in his *History of Bengal* (p. 216) calls him wrong 'Sháh *Ibráhm* Saqqá;' but he has the following interesting remark—"After this unexpected victory [over Rahím Sháh, in A. D. 1698] the prince 'Azím ushshán proceeded to the tomb of Shah Ibrahim Sukka in the vicinity of Burdwan, and having returned thanks to the Almighty for his success, he ordered a large sum of money to be distributed, in alms, to the poor and religious persons who attended on the shrine of the saint,"—adding in a footnote, "Shah Ibrahim Sukka was originally a water-carrier; but having associated with the Soofies, he became a celebrated author of poems and religious works. After his death he was canonized, and his tomb is still resorted to by pilgrims."

According to legends which I heard in Bardwán, Bahrám died at Bardwán after a stay of three days. His tomb is on a plot of ground which is said to have belonged to a Jogí of the name of Jaipál, who on seeing Bahrám's miracles, turned Múhammadan.

The following story was told me as a proof of Bahrá'm's greatness. After his arrival at Bardwán, he asked the Jogí, who lived near the present *dargáh*, at a place which is still pointed out, to give him a plot of ground; but Jaipál, before granting the request, wished to see whether Bahrá'm could work miracles as he himself. Now it happened that the Jogí had just washed his dhotí, and having hung it up as high as the heaven to dry, he asked Bahrá'm to bring it down. Bahrá'm took off one of his wooden shoes, and said to it, "Go, child, fetch it down," when all at once it flew up and came back with the cloth. The Jogí was now convinced of Bahrá'm's power, and gave him the plot of ground.

The Jámí', or Jum'ah, Masjid of Bardwán was built by 'Azím ushshán,† the same prince who allowed the English to settle at Calcutta.

MSS. of Saqqá's Díwán are not numerous. There are two very fair ones in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (Persian MSS., Nos. 251, 365). I also saw several in Bardwán. The poems are fine, and mostly of a religious nature; they breathe a spirit of freedom and independence, and bespeak a mind that will not be burdened with the cares of this world. They fully establish the saintly character of the poet.

The following incident made a great impression on the Mujáwirs, or persons in charge of the tomb. I shewed them a copy of Saqqá's díwán, which I had made from the MS. in the Society's Library, and mentioned that the first half had been written by a young Muhammadan, an excellent *kátib*, who died of cholera before he had completed the copy. Strange to say, the last verse he wrote was the following—

حاصل دیدار حق شد چون جنید و بابزید \* بر دو عالم هر که زد چون  
رومی و عطار یوف

Let him enter the sight of God, like Junaid and Báyzíd, who like Rúmí and 'Attár† despises the world.

\* He was the third son of Sháh 'Álam Bahádur Sháh, and grandson of Aurangzib. His real name was Muhammad 'Azím. He attempted a *julús* on the 19th Muharram, 1124, and was drowned on the 19th Cháir of the same year.

† Four famous Muhammadan Saints. *Yof zaidan*, to despise.

and the Mujáwirs were unanimous in declaring that saints did miracles even after death.

### Gaur.

The Arabic inscriptions on Pl. IV and V refer to the building of a mosque in Gaur by one Sikandar Khán, in A. H. 925, or 1519, A. D., during the reign of Husain Sháh, king of Bengal (*vide* Journal, 1870, Pt. I, p. 301, foot note).

The slabs were lately sent to the Indian Museum, Calcutta; they measure about 3 ft. by 1½, and are of basalt.

Pl. IV merely contains a verse from the Qorán (Qorán, Sur. IX, 18, and Journal for 1870, Pt. I., p. 293). Plate V has the following—

يا الله

قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من بني مسجد الله بني الله بيتا في الجنة  
بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطاني (sic) علاؤالدنيا والدين ابوالمظفر حسين  
شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه وسلطانه وبانيه مكندر خان في سنة خمس وعشرين  
وتسعمائة ॥

The prophet (may God bless him!) says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise.'

This mosque was built in the reign of 'Aláuddunyá wad-dín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and his rule. The builder of it is Sikandar Khán. Dated A. H., 925, or 1519, A. D.

In the upper right hand corner of Pl. V are the words *yá fattáh*, 'O Opener!' and to the left, *yá wahháb*, 'O Giver!'

Pl. IV has on the top three circles with the words, *yá allah*, O God, *yá fattáh*, O Opener, and *yá buddáh* يا بدوح; and below them, two circles with *yá subbúk*, 'O praiseworthy one,' and *yá quddús*, O holy one.

The words *yá buddáh* require an explanation. The word *بدوح* *buddáh* is not found in our dictionaries, nor among the 'ninety-nine beautiful names of God.\* But it often occurs on amulets, and is

\* According to a tradition related by Abú Hurairah, God has 99 names, and he who reads them will enter paradise. The names are called *asmá i husna*, or 'beautiful names,' and are given in all prayer books. There also exist 99 epithets of Muhammad, 'Alí, and Fátimah. Even for saints tables of 99 names have been prepared. I have a MS. in which 'Abdul Qádir Gilání, Mu'ínuddín i Chishtí (the patron-saint of India), Farid i Shukarganj (buried in Pák Patán, Panjab), and Nísámuiddín Auliá of Dihlí, get each 99 names.

supposed to have a secret and deep meaning. The letters ب, د, و, ح, are the first four even numerals of the Shemitic Alphabet, and stand for 2, 4, 6, 8. When joined, they give بدوح, which is now looked upon as a mysterious name of God, and is pronounced *buddûh*, as if it was an adjective like *quddûs*, *subbûh*, &c.

I have never before seen *buddûh* on a Mosque inscription.\* •

The two Arabic inscriptions on Pl. VII and VIII belong to the collection of Mr. A. Broadley, C. S., Bihâr. As Mr. Broadley is about to publish in this Journal his whole collection, all particulars will be found in a future number. The plates are here given to enable the reader to compare them with Pl. IV and V, as they show all the varieties of the Tughrá character that occur in Bengal inscriptions, Pl. VII being the oldest (A. H. 640), and Pl. V (A. H. 925) one of the latest. Under the Mughuls, the Tughrá characters were discontinued, and the beautiful *nasta'liq* characters came in vogue, which the Kátibs of the 15th and 16th centuries had brought to perfection. Intermediate between Pls. V. and VII are the characters of the Sunnârgâon inscriptions of Fath Sháh in possession of General Cunningham, the upward strokes of which are unusually long in comparison with the bodies of the letters themselves. Pl. VII is a beautiful specimen of simple Tughrá-writing with arabesques, or *rai-hání khatt*, whilst on Pl. VIII particular attention has been paid to the *dawáir* or curves, there being a minimum of straight lines, as in the *Tauqi'* character (Kin translation, p. 100). Pl. VIII (A. H., 719) greatly resembles the

\* Another mysterious word which I may mention here, is *yá kabíkaj* یا کبیکج.

It occurs on the fly-leaves of Indian MSS.; in fact Indian MSS. may often be recognized as such when bearing the phrase. I have never seen it on Persian MSS. *Yá kabíkaj* is generally three times repeated. Several Maulavis tell me that Kabíkaj is the name of an angel (مؤكل *muakkal*) who presides over insects, and that this angel is invoked by copyists to protect the MS. against white ants. A little Persian poem is also said to exist commencing with the words—

یا کبیکج مخور کتابم را

This explanation, whenever it was given, was accompanied by a denunciation of the practice as heathenish. It reminds one of the numerous angels of the Persians. But it strikes me that a better solution of the mysterious word is to be found in the numerical value of the letters of *yá kabíkaj*, which when added give 66—the old familiar equivalent for *Allah* (ا + ل + ل + ح = 66). This number occurs very frequently, even as a heading for letters, applications, &c.

Fírúz Sháh inscription at Tribení (Journal, A. S. Bengal, for 1870, p. 287) of A. II. 713.

A collection of such inscriptions may help us to clear up the difficult terms of Muhammadan calligraphy, of which so little is known. The art of painting was neglected by Muhammadans for religious reasons; and calligraphy which, to a certain extent, took its place, is hedged in by rules of proportion which are with difficulty learnt and appreciated. But it would be erroneous to believe that the characters used for inscriptions or coins, no matter how unusual they look, are the result of whim: a good *Kátib*, when in possession of a few characteristic letters of an inscription, can always from them complete the whole alphabet, and in the case of difficult inscriptions much time is saved, and much accuracy is gained, by first writing down the alphabet. It is also worth remembering that all *Ṭughrá* writing intends to be beautiful, not whimsical and obscure. On first commencing to read *Ṭughrá* inscriptions, I was often misled by a preconceived notion of an intentional obscurity of the characters, and was often inclined to believe that an upward stroke, for instance, belonged to two words and should be read twice. But *Ṭughrá*, as every other writing, expresses each letter fully.

I use the word *Ṭughrá*, as it is now-a-days used by Muhammadans in these parts of India, as a general term for every kind of writing prior to the *Nasta'liq*.

Pl. VIII is peculiar in one respect. The letter *و*, which in other inscriptions stands above the line, is in every instance kept on the line. The long stroke of the initial *sín* also in the last word of the upper line is very unusual on inscriptions. Compare also the inscription in Mr. Thomas's *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings*, p. 129. In the date [719], we have again *تع*, instead of *تـع*, or *تـعـ*.

#### Atak.

Mr. J. G. Delmerick sent the following two inscriptions. The first is on the fort of Atak—

\* قلعه اٹك \*

سر شاهان عالم شاه اكبر \* تعالى شانه الله اكبر  
سنه ۹۹۱ هجري

The chief of the kings of the world, Sháh Akbar, elevated is His dignity, Alláhu Akbar. A. H. 991. [A. D., 1583].

The Akbarnámah (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 335) has the following passage among the events of the 26th year of Akbar's reign, which lasted from the 5th Çafar, 989, to the 14th Çafar, 990, or from 11th March, 1581, to 10th March, 1582, A. D.

"To the events of this year belongs the resolution of his Majesty to build Fort Aṭak Banáras, which he thought might conveniently be commenced the next time that the imperial camp should come to that district. The foundation was laid by his Majesty in person on the 15th Khurdád, two g'harís after midday; and the fort was called by him Aṭak Banáras, so that its name might correspond to Kaṭak Banáras (Cuttack, in Orissa), which forms the eastern boundary of the realm. The building was superintended by Khwájah Shamsuddín Khawáfí, who had recently come from Bengal."

For a biographical notice of Khwájah Shamsuddín, *vide* Aín translation, p. 445. Badáoní (II, 293) also says—"In the month of Rabi' II. of this year (989), Fort Aṭak Banáras was founded, as the point opposite to Kaṭak Banáras." The month of Rabi' II, 989, lasted from the 5th May to 2nd June, 1581. The above date (991) seems therefore to refer to the completion of the fort.

The metre of the inscription is short Hazaj (*mafá'ilun, mafá'ilun, fa'úlun*), the final *he* with its *zamm* in شانه counting as a long syllable.

#### Ma'rgalah.

Mr. Delmerick says that the Márgalah Pass was constructed about the time when Aurangzib marched to Hasan Abdál, and sent on his son to chastise the Trans-Indus tribes. The inscription is—

\* مارگله \*

خان قوی پنجه مهابت شکوه \* شیر ز سر پنجه او ناتوان  
گفت مغل رومی تاریخ شان \* ناصیه مدوش هندوستان  
سنه ۱۰۸۰ هجری

باهتمام میرزا محمد داروغه و احمد معمار اوستاد و جوگیداس و  
دیپی داس نجویل دار



The Khán of strong hand, and of exalted dignity, the lion is powerless to overcome his strong hand.

Mughul Rûmî composed the chronogram, 'Nâciâh i malwâsh i Hindústân, the moon-like forelock of Hindústân, A. H. 1083 [or, 1672, A. D.].

The inscription seems incomplete. The year 1083 commenced unlucky for Aurangzib; for on the 12th Muharram, 1083, or 28th April, 1672, the news reached him of the total defeat of his troops under Muḥammad Amin Khán in the Khaibar Pass, a defeat which the author of the *Mâdsi i 'Alamgiri* (p. 117) compares with that of Akbar's troops under Zain Khán and Rájah Bír Bar.

The metre of the inscription is *mufta'ilun*, *mufta'ilun*, *fá'ilán*.

### Majherah.

Mr. A. Cadell, C. S., sent two interesting inscriptions of the tombs of two Sayyids of the Bárha clan,\* which still exist in Majherah, Muzaffarnagar, N. W. P. The first inscription mentions 967 as the year in which Sayyid Chhahjú (Áin, p. 477) died; but the inscription is too incomplete and unmetrical for publication. The second is taken from the tomb of Sayyid Mahmúd of Bárha (Áin, p. 389), and is in Arabic—

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم  
 اللهم صل على النبي الوفي الصفي الهاشمي محمد و على آله  
 واصحابه المتأدبين بآدابه الله الباقي وهو المكمود في كل فعالة  
 توفي الامير الكبير الموحوم المغفور المبرور الواصل الى جوار  
 رحمة الله الملك المنان السيد محمود خان صاحب الطبل و العلم  
 في زمانه تغمدته الله بغفرانه في ليلة الخميس السادس من اخرى  
 الجماديين بسنة الثنى و ثمانين وتسعمائة من سني الهجرة النبوية\*

In the name of God, the merciful, the clement. O God, bless the prophet, the faithful, the pure, of the family of Hâshim, Muhammad, and his family, and his friends who were instructed in his manners. God is everlasting and praiseworthy in all His doings.

The great Amír, who is pardoned and rendered pure, and has reached the vicinity of the mercy of God, the favor-bestowing king, Sayyid Mahmúd Khán, a lord of the drum and the flag in his time, died—may God cover him with His pardon—in the night of Thursday, 6th Jumáda II., 982, [or, 23rd September, 1574, A. D.]

\* Áin translation, p. 390.

Regarding the original domicile of the Bárha clan, Mr. Cadell writes as follows—

'A Kundlíwal—the tribe to which S. Mahmúd belonged—told me 'that he had been in Patiálá when in service in the Panjáb, and 'that he had gone to see the cradle of his race. He says that the 'true name is Chatbánúr, now a large town with several thousand 'Sayyids. In Kundlí there are only a few huts. Tíhanpúr is a 'pretty hamlet; but Jagner is uninhabited.'

To the list of Bárha Sayyids, on p. 392 of the *Aín* translation, the following may be added—Sayyid Qásim, son of S. Diláwar, (Tuzuk, pp. 159, 163); S. 'Izzat Khán (killed, Tuzuk, 246, 306); S. Muhammad 'Alí and S. Bahádur, sons of Saif Khán (Tuzuk, 87, 159); S. Kabír (do., 374); S. 'Abdussalám (do., 384; Pádisháhn., I, 125); S. Parwarish Khán (Pádisháhn., I, 185, 297); S. Mák'han, (Pádisháhn., I, 351, and Tuzuk, p. 188); S. 'Abdul Hádí, (Tuz., 325); S. Naçib, (do., 310); S. Núrul Bahr Saif Khán, (Maás. 'Alam-girí, p. 266).

### • Bareli.

Mr. A. S. Harrison, Bareli College, sent me the following inscription, which belongs to the Mírzáí, or Pádisháhi, Masjid, in the Mírzáí Mahallah, Bareli.

ساعی کار خیر عین المالك \* ساخت مسجد بامر اکبر شاه  
مومنان راست حال تاریخش \* فاسجدوا خالصا لوجه الله

۹۸۷

'Ain ul Mulk who strives to do good works, built this mosque by order of the Emperor Akbar.

The chronogram for believers is given in the (Arabic) sentence *fasjidú khálīqan liwajh-illah* 'prostrate yourselves sincerely before God,' A. H. 987, [A. D., 1579].

Regarding 'Ain ul Mulk, who was one of Akbar's court doctors, *vide Aín* translation, pp. 480, 481.



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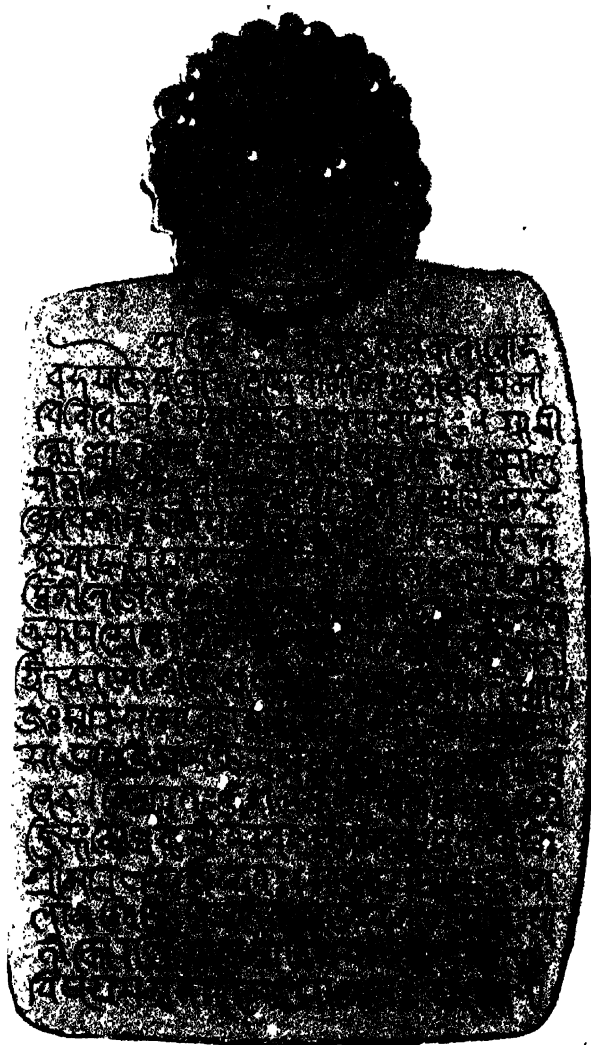




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